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NEW CRISIS IN DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS

By Dr. Radivoj UVALIĆ

THE COLLAPSE of the May Meeting of the Big Four in Paris and the break in the work of the ten-nation Parity Committee have led the problem of disarmament to a new crisis. This question was expected to be the most important one at the Summit Conference, and it was believed that there were favourable prospects that the distance between the opposite standpoints of the representatives of the two blocs might be lessened and steps taken towards some kind of initial solution. In the coming months it will return to the stage of theoretical analysis, with the aim of finding new bases for the renewal of negotiations between the big powers, and until the discussions about this question before the UNO General Assembly, it is difficult to believe that it can be moved from the deadline where it is now. The result of the relaxation of tension reached during the past year no longer seems certain and the belief which prevailed among nearly all nations that we were on the threshold of a new important epoch of international agreement on securing peace in the world for a longer period, seems shaken.

Everybody is wondering whether this is only a temporary check in the turn for the better, or whether a radical change in international policy, with a return to the methods of the cold war, is threatened. It is difficult to give a definite answer to this question yet, for indications in favour of either theory can be found in the political occurrences of the past two months. Let us examine some factors which may influence the further course of international relations in connection with this important but delicate question.

However concerned we may be about the unfavourable aspects of the world situation it should be stressed that the constructive elements which became manifest in the past year have not completely disappeared. Declarations of good will are still heard on both sides, and the Geneva Conference of the three atomic powers, which is discussing the discontinuation of test explosions, has not broken up; the exchange of official delegations and visits of tourists between the individual countries of the two blocs is being continued, and re-

gardless of the abortive May Conference in Paris, neither the question of the future status of Berlin nor that of the conclusion of a separate peace treaty with the Democratic Republic of Germany, which according to the general opinion may easily bring about a sudden and dangerous straining of relations between the two blocs, have yet been raised by the Soviet Union. As regards disarmament, the work of the Committee of Ten has been adjourned because of the withdrawal of the representatives of the Eastern bloc, but there is always a chance of renewing negotiations if new, constructive proposals come from the West. Even if there should be a deliberate tendency on the part of either side to create further tension in international relations — which seems unlikely — it would be hardly possible at this moment, in view of the widespread desire in countries in all parts of the world to reach some kind of compromise solution.

The Committee of Ten at Geneva has by no means fulfilled the hopes set on it. The same conclusion was come to regarding all former negotiations dealing with the problem of disarmament. And then, the situation today is not the same as it was several years ago. There are new, encouraging features which give this problem different contours and a changed nature. They are the result of permanent and important changes connected with this problem, which have nothing to do with the will or mood of the political leaders who are discussing it, or of their governments.

The problem of disarmament must be affected by the continuous and rapid changes in the world situation, which inevitably lead to changes in the balance of power between the states concerned and to the appearance of new political factors which were not taken into account before. To an increasing number of those who reflect on political problems the weakness and illusory nature of the formerly widespread belief that peace can be preserved by maintaining the balance of power between two strongly armed military blocs is becoming clear today. Such a static conception is hardly tenable in face of the extremely dynamic political developments of today. The latest variant of this conception is the so-called «balance of deterrents.» With two blocs having at their disposal a tremendous amount of highly destructive weapons neither of them will, according to this theory, venture to provoke war, since there are no efficacious means, nor will such be invented in the near future, of warding off the devastating effects of the weapons of the adversary. Those who try to console themselves with such arguments do not draw any lesson from the wars of the past. History has taught us that wars have scarcely ever been provoked by a defined, well-contrived calculation of the chances of success on the part of the aggressor. Wars have most frequently broken out in consequence of erroneously calculated risks and a chain of reaction which, once the mistake was made, could not be checked. Do not the conditions of today offer us untold opportunities for making

such fatal political mistakes as would inevitably lead to war? This accounts for the rapidly diminishing number of those who expect the balance of armaments to bring lasting peace, and for the appreciable weakening of the whole bloc conception of international security, which is based on this belief. It explains the increasingly frequent symptoms of crisis in the blocs, manifested in the weakening of their internal cohesion, in the slackening of discipline and in the impossibility of including new states and new geographical areas in the blocs. And while the independent states which are making their appearance as equal members of the international community declare themselves without exception in favour of non-aligned status in international relations, many bloc countries are trying to loosen their bloc bonds and are looking for new methods of bringing peace to the world. The latest political developments support this constructive evolution, which encourages the analysis of the disarmament problem from a new, more realistic angle.

Besides other political aspect, the rapid and permanent changes in arms technology also have a constructive influence. As is known, a revolution in armaments and war strategy was brought about by the appearance of the new rocket weapon and its steady improvement. Authoritative representatives of the West admit that in these new conditions the presence of American troops in Europe has lost a great deal of its former significance, since the use of rocket weapons gives geographical distances quite new and far less easily measurable dimensions, which mean that in the new conditions of warfare even frontiers have ceased to exercise their former function. Should it not be clear from this that in the not too distant future, the abolition of military bases on foreign territories, might be put on the agenda? Their presence has caused much ill-temper and anxiety in the already stormy international atmosphere, and such prospects are supported by the obviously growing dissatisfaction of the countries on whose territories military bases have been set up, so that it is becoming an acute political problem.

We have many reasons for believing that the further improvement of arms technique makes it easy to realize the necessity for a bolder attempt to find the needful compromise which would lead to agreement on partial and later total disarmament. There is no doubt that the unchecked growth of the increasingly heavy burden of expenditure on armament will act in the same way.

All these new elements account for a good deal of the success of the unanimous adoption of the resolution on general and controlled disarmament at the General Assembly of UNO last year. If we wish to appraise objectively the work of the Committee of Ten at Geneva, we must admit, regardless of its failure, that all these circumstances, though not expressed directly or clearly, were felt in the atmosphere of the discussions. The general tone of the talks differed favourably from that of former conferences. Regardless of the distances bet-

ween the opposed conceptions, there were constructive attempts to approach the essence of the proposal of the other side with more good will. But in spite of this it was impossible to attain concrete results. The constructive factors did not act with full power at the conference, and it was not possible to do away with many old prejudices and habits. The new tendencies and the old ones were intermixed. There was lack of the courage needed to make the radical changes which would lead to a more constructive search for acceptable solutions.

Another impediment to the work of the Committee was its composition. The absence of the non-aligned countries which, being outside the arms race, might have assessed the whole problem more widely and more objectively and facilitated the finding of compromise solutions, made it possible for negative conceptions and methods from the past to dominate the discussion more than necessary. The role of the non-aligned countries would have been so much the more constructive since they are today the principal protagonists of those tendencies towards agreement in the world which seem to be becoming stronger every day and which have gradually begun to change the attitude of a good many bloc countries. Would the non-aligned countries have a better chance of finding a way to reconcile the different standpoints which are such a frequent feature of the discussions, and which are the result of jealousy for national prestige, especially among the big powers.

As regards the principles and technical questions concerning disarmament and control, in which the Committee attempted to find connecting points without changing the basic conceptions arrived at beforehand, it is certain that countries without a pre-conceived attitude would have taken part in this work with much greater freedom and success. It was difficult to find a link between the claims of the Eastern Bloc countries who demanded first a radical reduction of all kinds of weapons and those of the Western Bloc countries who asked for the setting up of a trial system of international inspection as a preliminary step.

In contrast to the negative tendencies in the analyses of the disarmament problem which have been shown by certain articles in the western press, we must first of all stress the constructive aspects with which this question could be approached in the near or distant future, in the search for new solutions. In this connection, however, we cannot avoid making an important reservation in our optimism.

It is obvious that the problem of disarmament cannot be isolated from a number of others affecting the general political situation. It is difficult to judge to what extent the recent events were caused by the difficulties which arose in the disarmament talks and to what extent they were the consequence of other obstructive elements in the evolution of international relations. Thus it was impossible to expect any success in disarmament in the absence of an atmosphere of relaxed

tension, in which good will would have been manifested unequivocally and daily by both blocs.

Thus the technical questions of disarmament seem less important to us — although their study may play a certain useful role — than the conditions of mutual confidence which are indispensable for the achieving of concrete results. That no insuperable difficulties are present is shown by changes of both sides in their attitude to these questions. Mr. H. Kissinger, professor at Harvard, in the periodical »Foreign Affairs« put forward convincing arguments in his criticism of the Western attitude to the problem of inspection, with the aim of preventing surprise attacks. According to Kissinger, air inspection — or even land inspection — as an adequate means for guaranteeing international security, belongs to the epoch when war was conducted by mobile armies. In dealing with rocket armament, the more perfected the weapons are the less effect will any kind of inspection have, for it will never be able to show whether a missile is actually to be fired.

In any case it is fallacy to believe that it is impossible to reach a disarmament agreement unless an inspection system guaranteeing full protection against suspected intention of an adversary is set up. To carry disarmament into practice will be possible only if each side is prepared to run a certain, unavoidable risk, but it is difficult to conceive that the states would take this risk without the creation of that mutual and lasting confidence which would also facilitate the successful solution of other world problems.

For this reason the problem of disarmament cannot be singled out from other international questions although the charmed circle of the past, when such discussions depended on the solving of other open problems, were to be avoided. To take a further step forward it will be necessary to learn a lesson from experience and to make fresh efforts, through the examination of a number of unsettled political problems, to create a better atmosphere in international relations. The modicum of success which preceded this new crisis shows that this is not impossible.

Only in such circumstance will the problem of disarmament approach a practical solution.



Development of Foreign Economic Relations

By C. B.

DISCUSSIONS concerning the next Five Year Plan (1961—65) have gone a long way, and the line of development was traced in detail in President Tito's report at the Fifth Congress of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia. The fastest possible development of productive power, with a simultaneous widening and strengthening of the institutions of social democracy, will remain the basis of Yugoslav social and economic progress.

The results achieved hitherto, which are by no means small, are proportionately with the independent and nonaligned international position of Yugoslavia. This is a constant factor in Yugoslav policy and her future development is linked with it.

In accordance with this policy, and as its natural sequence, the creation of such economic and social conditions as will allow the economic laws to act still more freely, is anticipated. The development expected on the economic plane covers the further strengthening of the material basis of self-management, including such sectors as education and health protection, as well as the establishment of a more comprehensive banking system, with the aim of mobilizing financial funds to a greater extent than before, by applying adequate banking methods. The utilization of banking channels and institutions on a larger scale may diminish the need for direct taxation, for economic trends would then be directed by economic requirements on a more extensive scale than by administrative measures. All this should bring about a further lessening of beurocracy and the strengthening of the economic laws. In such conditions, the role of millions of working people will necessarily grow in importance, not only in the field of economy, but in all other fields.

The objective of the Five Year Plan of Development to be approved by the Federal People's Assembly is to assess the outlined trends on the one hand, and on the other, to determine the general line of development which will in the prevailing circumstances be the most favourable for our socialist society.

As a tendency towards creating the freest possible economic and social relations has been predominant for years now in Yugoslav international policy, it is quite natural that this affected foreign relations.

Yugoslav foreign trade relations or, to be more accurate, the system on which these relations are based, may be analysed as follows. First of all, it would be neither consistent nor appropriate to try to develop and establish more liberal relations

on the internal plane while retaining without change the former administrative system in foreign trade relations. It is obvious that such conditions would be contradictory and would cause difficulties and damage not only to our economy but to our whole development. The following facts will illustrate the indivisibility of this process:

— The corollary of the building of a system of decentralization, self-management, markets etc. was the dissolution of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the establishment of the Committee for Foreign Trade.

Import and export licences for all kinds of import and export articles were abolished. Contingents and quotas for export goods were an exception rather than a rule. In lieu of a limited number of centralized enterprises, several hundred enterprises were permitted to handle exports and imports, on the principle that every producer or other enterprise may carry on trade if it is to its economic advantage. Thus the monopoly of big import and export enterprises came to an end. The utilization of foreign currency for commodity imports was thus liberated to a certain extent. A recent development is the introduction of duties and the abandonment of the so called co-efficient system. Bilateral trade and payment agreements with a number of countries have been replaced by multilateral mechanisms on reciprocal accord etc. This has been done at the proposal of the countries whose policy of speedier economic development makes such instruments more suitable, which, of course, is in keeping with our conceptions, according to which, when establishing economic relations between states, forms of the relations must not be imposed by either partner.

Sincere, lasting and mutually advantageous co-operation can be developed only in the forms and along the lines which are mutually and freely adopted by the partners.

These examples show that the policy which has been carried on for some time now aims at rendering economic relations with foreign countries more liberal and more elastic. That the progress achieved has been modest so far is not due to theoretical or political conceptions, but to limited material resources (funds for payments abroad), which has seriously affected the pace of development in this respect.

At this moment, when the next Five Year Plan is in preparation and its adoption is being considered, it is obvious that such an important question cannot be "left on one side" when plans for other economic fields are being drawn up. Consequently, any new measures in the field of

trade and foreign exchange relations should be regarded as forming part of a whole, and as the continuation of a policy which was traced long before.

If this were not taken into account when planning the first steps, the conclusion drawn would be quite erroneous, and to consider such steps in the field of foreign exchange as a mere problem of "stabilization" would not correspond to the actual situation, for the question is not so much one of stabilization as of how to create conditions for quicker development. To this end it is necessary to remove certain obstacles which are due to inadequate development.

It is not fortuitous that these measures are being considered now when we are advancing at a quicker pace than ever before. The rapid development of the economy should be the fundamental material basis for all steps to be taken, including those regarding foreign exchange. On the other hand measures liable to slow down development should not be applied. The whole new plan will result from our own processes and reflect our own interests, as will, all the measures which may follow, just as has been the case previously.

Attempts to find in this "new proofs" of "approaches and withdrawals" are out of place and actually prejudicial to those who invent them, as will be shown by our future development. One-sided and tendentious "explanations" are nothing new, which is a reason why they should not be taken too seriously.

Brioni Meetings

By Zoran ŽUJOVIĆ

THE RECENT visit of General Ibrahim Aboud, president of the Chief Military Council and Prime Minister of Sudan, and of other prominent Sudanese personalities, was followed by the visit of Djuanda Kartawidjaja, chief minister of the government of the Republic of Indonesia. These visits of prominent personalities from two friendly countries have a particular significance not only for both of them and for Yugoslavia, but also for world conditions. They show the cordial relations of Yugoslavia with the Sudan and Indonesia, confirm their previous co-operation, and open the way to still wider co-operation in future. Owing to the foreign policy of these countries and their individual and joint influence on world events, these visits are also of importance to the preservation of peace and to the clearing of the international atmosphere. These meetings of the leaders of non-aligned countries are the more important since they follow the collapse of the Paris Summit Conference and the adjournment of the Geneva Disarmament Talks, whose failure so greatly troubled the international atmosphere.

Sudanese-Yugoslav relations, although of a relatively recent date, have progressed at a speed possible only because they are founded on mutual understanding, equality and readiness to render mutual assistance. Thus they are cordial and friendly not only in the domain of political cooperation but also in what may be called the material basis of good relations between states. Not only has the trade exchange been increased by 600% between the two countries in a short time, but their economic relations have assumed many new forms. Yugoslav enterprises are making investigations in the Sudan regarding conditions for the carrying out of Sudanese plans for economic development. Under their mutual economic arrangements, Yugoslavia has extended to the Sudan a credit of five and a half million pounds, which is being mainly utilized for the erection of industrial projects designed by Yugoslav experts, with equipment furnished by Yugoslav enterprises. The first big ships of the Sudanese merchant navy are being built in Yugoslav shipyards, while the first cultural convention signed by the Sudan was that with Yugoslavia, on June 29 last year. Under this convention and other agreements a certain number of Sudanese students and experts are studying in Yugoslavia, and there are also Sudanese cadets in Yugoslav military and naval schools.

This rich co-operation was further extended 18 months ago, when President Tito paid an official visit to the Sudan and signed the joint communiqué on the first talks between the heads of the two countries, in Khartoum, on February 18, 1959. This communiqué was the basis of concrete negotiations carried on later by the experts, and of the agreement which has led to cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Sudan. On the occasion of the recent visit of President Aboud to this country and warm and friendly talks, the successful development of bilateral relations between the two countries was stressed, and it was found that the forms of cooperation hitherto applied had been surpassed in practice. So there is no doubt that future relations will be still more extensive in the coming period.

But the ideas contained in both joint communiqués on the Sudanese-Yugoslav talks regarding international relations as a whole and the most urgent international problems, must not be ignored, in view of the growing influence of the non-aligned countries on the big bloc powers and the enhanced importance of their interest in the strengthening of peace in the world and in the improvement of the international atmosphere; for this is the pre-condition for universal

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progress and strengthened independence of the two countries, as emphasized in the communiqué signed in Brioni.

The joint communiqué refers to the consistent efforts of the Sudan and Yugoslavia in putting this policy into practice, at the same time condemning the cold war and its methods, as well as the policy of force in international relations. The communiqué emphasizes the importance of the United Nations Charter and the role of the world organization in recent events — a role which is steadily growing, this being to a considerable extent due to the in-

creasing number of new, independent countries on the Asian and African continents, to their non-alignment to blocs, and to their actions in favour of peace. The communiqué signed by President Aboud and President Tito stresses in particular the agreement of the two countries with the principles and norms adopted at the conferences in Bandung and Accra, condemns the remnants of colonialism in the contemporary world, and recommends the rendering of assistance on the largest possible scale to insufficiently developed countries, whose backwardness is a problem concerning the whole world community.

CURRENT TOPICS

SUMMIT MEETINGS AND THE UNITED NATIONS

By Dr. Aleš BEBLER

ONE of the favourable consequences of a deplorable event — the failure of the summit conference — is the fact that methods for settling globally the gravest present day problem is being considered more widely. This is the problem of nuclear armaments and the danger of a nuclear war that goes with it — the greatest danger that has ever threatened mankind. A crisis has appeared in the method of negotiation within the narrow circle of the great powers and within the circle of the bloc representatives (the Four and the Ten).

It was natural that many remembered the United Nations at that moment, and we were among those who immediately drew attention to that organization. As we had been regarding critically such undemocratic methods of disarmament negotiations, we drew the only logical conclusion from the failure of such methods, after the first attempt to reach concrete and decisive results.

The course of events has vindicated and supported our views. All countries, that is to say, all governments of the United Nations members, are preparing, as never before, for the autumn session of the General Assembly, as the whole Assembly will inevitably feel the vast responsibility which falls upon them because of the crisis in the negotiation methods. Once again, perhaps more clearly than ever, the feeling that it is fortunate that the United Nations exists, will prevail. Where could we go with the disarmament problem after the Paris fiasco if the United Nations did not exist? Who knows how much trouble there would have been, and how much time needed to solve all questions of protocol and procedure concerning the convening of a new summit conference and the setting up of a new disarmament commission?

However, the United Nations Organization is there. There will be held, in the immediate future,

the General Assembly of that organization, which meets automatically, and in which no one can prevent a debate, or the reaching of recommendations for further efforts in the disarmament field.

In other words, a favourable conjuncture has been established to return once and for all the disarmament question to the United Nations Organization, which has always been and still is the most normal procedure.

In the United Nations Charter, in its actual Preamble, it is expressly stated that the organization was created *above all* to «save succeeding generations from the scourge of war». As the most imminent danger today is the nuclear armament race, the *foremost* task of the United Nations at present is to stop this race. If this organization does not deal with it, and leaves it to the Four or the Ten, who meet outside the organization and its supervision, and have no responsibility to it, then it has failed in its main task — the task for which it was created.

The entire Charter is drawn up in the spirit of the first paragraph of the Preamble, and it precisely formulates in several places the main task of the organization, even laying down the manner of approach to this problem. The first Article in the first Chapter, — the chapter that speaks about the purposes and principles — begins with the statement that the purpose of the United Nations is «to maintain international peace and security, and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace».

What is the main threat to peace today if it is not the nuclear armament race and all that accompanies it — such as reconnaissance flights over foreign territory? And what are «effective collective measures» forced upon by such a situation if not disarmament, first of all regarding nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery?

The Charter provides for a special organ to deal with security problems. In Chapter V, which speaks about that organ, there is the following, somewhat forgotten article (Article 26): »In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for... plans... for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments.«

In words which were then convenient to the authors, the armament problem, which is also the disarmament problem, is expressly referred to as one of the tasks of the Security Council.

If this specific body does not concern itself with the armament and the disarmament problem, then it does not fulfil the task entrusted to it by the Charter.

It is true that the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, are suffering from a grave handicap. The biggest nation in the world — the Chinese people — is not represented in these bodies. The Charter gives China a permanent place in the Security Council: a place with the right of veto. But a representative of an ousted and anti-national Chinese Government has been sitting in that place for more than ten years. Such a situation is unnatural and it greatly hinders the work of this world organization.

The finding of a solution to this question — the right solution — is among the urgent tasks of all those who believe that the United Nations Organization is necessary and irreplaceable, and they are — without exaggerated optimism — the definite majority of UNO.

The solving of this problem would open the door to the settlement of other urgent problems: questions regarding the revision of the Charter, especially as regards the composition of the Security Council. The time is more than ripe for the latter to be enlarged by the addition of one permanent and one or two non-permanent members at least, to create places for »new« members from South Asia and Africa. Thus the Security Council would become a body which could perfectly take the place of any summit meeting outside the scope of the United Nations Organization.

Such a meeting is expressly provided for by the Charter. In Article 28 the Charter says: »The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members may, if it so desires, be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representative.« Thus the Charter obviously provides that governments should send their foreign ministers or even prime ministers to such meetings, and it specified that such sessions *should* take place *periodically*.

This means that »summit« meetings are provided for by the Charter, that is, meetings which the Charter considers essential. And summit meeting of this kind would be better than the one that took place in Paris. In addition to the big powers, medium and small countries from all the

five continents would be represented in rotation as elected non-permanent members. Public opinion would be able to find expression at a common table with the big powers.

The obligation of the United Nations Organization to deal concretely with the disarmament problem springs also from those parts of the Charter which speak about the obligations of the countries to seek a solution of any dispute by peaceful means (Article 33). »The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or the situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security« (Article 34), and »Any member of the United Nations may bring any dispute or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly« (Article 35).

Let us look at the situation which we call »the cold war« and at the dispute which we call »the East-West conflict«, from the point of view of these articles. They undoubtedly both come under the mentioned category, they have been informally »submitted« every year to the United Nations Organization by nearly all its members, and they have been spoken about as of primary importance in debates at the General Assembly. There are even formal obligations in such a case, formulated by Article 37. Its first paragraph reads: »Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that article, they shall refer it to the Security Council« and the Security Council (second paragraph) shall »recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate«.

According to the spirit and the letter of the Charter, the »big dispute« between the East and the West, as such, should be submitted for settlement to the Security Council. The gravity of the dispute is indisputable. It leads to armed incidents, to flights over foreign territory by military planes of the opposing party, to the shooting down of such planes, and so forth. The dispute is, therefore, of such a nature that the Security Council should deal with this most important and urgent question.

From such a standpoint therefore it is also impermissible for the United Nations Organization and for the Security Council in particular, to ignore the »big dispute«, and abandon it to the self-appointed Four or Ten.

The General Assembly, which meets this autumn, will be inevitably confronted by the question of a method for the settling of the »big dispute«, that is, East-West tension and its most dangerous form — the nuclear armaments race. The Assembly will have to discuss its role in that question. The Assembly will take the right course if it reaches decisions which will enable the United Nations to solve concretely the most topical problem of today.

Significant Measures for the Development of the UAR.

— CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL UNION AND THE WORK OF FIRST PARLIAMENT —

By Dragan STOJILJKOVIC

THE CONGRESSES of the National Union in the Egyptian and Syrian Provinces, followed by seven-day session of the General Congress of the National Union of the UAR in Cairo, the setting up of a new, united Parliament, and the commencement of its work — all these are events of paramount importance in the development of the United Arab Republic.

They are remarkable for several reasons. First, they show that a united all-national political organization, the National Union, has been definitely established. It will represent the skeleton of the new state and its internal order. Second, they prove that, after great efforts and untiring work, a good part of the way to the economic progress of the country and the strengthening of her independence has been covered. And third, they prove that the old forms of social relations and the old conceptions and prejudices are slowly but steadily giving way to new conceptions, arising from political practice and economic progress and taking shape according to the specific conditions by which they are determined. They are not only landmarks indicating the successful completion of a difficult stage in the consolidation of the united Arabian state, but the introduction to a new, no less serious phase, in which the adopted forms of organization, as well as resolutions on a number of vital questions involving many important tasks in the further building of the country, are to be carried into practice.

The keystone in the development of the United Arab Republic, as in almost all the other newly-liberated countries, was the gathering and activating of all the national forces and resources. To achieve this, it was necessary to abolish the old multi-party Parliamentary system and to carry out the re-organization of political and social life. Although the need for such changes was appreciated from the very outset, to carry them into practice required both time and effort.

The first attempts in Egypt (before the foundation of the UAR) to institute the "Liberation Movement" — the leader of the revolutionary changes in July 1952 — as the political organization of the masses, did not succeed for many reasons. Then, in November 1957, the National Union of Egypt was founded and, when Syria and Egypt were united, the idea of a National Union was accepted as the basis for creating a

united all-national political organization for the whole UAR.

At first this constituted a principle and a declaration rather than reality. In both UAR provinces there were many urgent problems to be solved, and the young independent Arabian Republic was confronted with serious tasks on the plane of foreign politics. On the internal plane, the proclaimed unity imposed the most urgent need for adapting to each other two previously separate countries which had developed in their own way and according to their own, specific, historical conditions. In other words, it was necessary to solve a number of problems first, and then to liquidate the remnants of the multi-party system (especially in Syria, where the bourgeois political parties had a strong tradition and some of them had even played a constructive role in the building of Syrian independence) in order to form a basis for the effective establishment and development of the National Union.

But there was progress and the new, united organization was gradually shaped and moulded. At the same time the remnants of the old system were done away with and the state administration re-organized, the new political organization being given the most important role in it.

The regional congresses, and especially the General Congress of the National Union, have confirmed that the steps taken to bring this about were decisive.

The united political organization, which was formed in the process of political and economic development and which two years ago was only a programme, exists in actual fact today. The results achieved by the UAR in the relatively short period of its existence afford a solid basis from which, with the full engagement of the National Union which has already been formed, it will be possible to go forward confidently and rapidly. The facts are there: the per capita income in the Egyptian Province has been increased from 30 pounds in 1952 to 51 pounds; in 1959 the construction of 55 factories was completed and industrial production enlarged by further 25 per cent; preparations have been made for a similar acceleration of industrial development in the Syrian Province, where more than 100 million pounds are planned for capital investments; the banking system has been re-organized; agrarian reform has been carried further in both provinces, etc.

But the Congresses of the National Union have also shown other things symbolizing profound changes and renaissance in the United Arab Republic. At a meeting of delegates representing all social classes, rallied in the struggle for the building of the independent Arabian republic, all aspects of social and economic life, as well as specific ways and forms for the development of the UAR, were openly discussed. Different and even contradictory opinions were heard, some of them half-expressed or not sufficiently; but there was complete unanimity of aim: the building of a democratic and socialist society on a co-operative basis. All this shows that the solution of complex problems will be found in the experience and practice of political development, and formed in full agreement as to the goal to be reached.

Another characteristic and noteworthy feature of the Congresses was that many questions were asked concerning religion, the position of women in society etc., which had never been discussed in public before, the traditional, conservative views on such things being tacitly accepted. The fact that these questions were discussed and a new, progressive attitude taken towards some of them, shows that the old conceptions, including even those behind the high walls of religious prejudice, can no longer resist the pressure of new ideas, or the universally progressive trend in social development.

The General Congress of the National Union adopted a number of important resolutions, emphasizing two basic principles: the policy of independence and non-alignment to blocs, and the building of a democratic and socialist society. Basing its resolutions on these principles, the Congress outlined its attitude to various international problems including those concerning the Arab world, as well as to the internal development of the country and its economic progress. All these resolutions, which represent in essence the programme of the National Union as the united

political organization of the UAR, will be submitted for approval to the new Parliament, so that the Government of the Republic may undertake the corresponding measures. This confirms the role assigned by the Congress to the National Union in the life of the United Arab Republic.

The first step to this effect has already been made. Late in July, the first Parliament of the United Arab Republic was appointed and, according to the statutes of the provisional constitution, joined by half the members of the former Syrian and Egyptian Parliaments. In the new Parliament, numbering 600 deputies, two-thirds are representatives of the Egyptian Province and one-third of the Syrian. The role of the National Union has been conspicuous here too. All deputies in the regional parliaments elected to the committees of the National Union last year are appointed to the new Parliament.

Thus the re-organization of the state administration of the UAR and the setting up of new bases is practically complete. For the new Parliament, which has the character of a constituent assembly, there remains a task to be performed: to set up a new constitution to replace the present, provisional one.

The United Arab Republic, whose future was viewed very pessimistically by many only a few years ago, today represents a consolidated state community which is paving the way to further development by removing the remnants of the past and, by strengthening its own independence, is contributing to the strengthening of peace and independence in the world.

There are undoubtedly many complicated problems facing this community. In solving them and in carrying into practice the resolutions passed at the Congress, its constructive aspirations will be crystallized into more distinct forms of progress. But what has been achieved so far constitutes an excellent basis for the sound and safe progress of the United Arab Republic.

Events in the Congo

By R. KOZARAC

AT THIS moment, when the Congo crisis is slowly approaching its settlement, the events in this large and rich country may be viewed from two aspects: a) the conditions which brought about the conflicts and problems in the Congo immediately after the proclamation of independence, and b) the factors which have contributed to the gradual tranquilization of the situation, and to the localization of a conflict which might have grown into a grave international clash.

1. Belgium's resolution to recognize the independence of the Congo was surprisingly realistic, in view of the metropolis's great economic interest in this African country, and her ambition to present "peace

and order" in the Congo as the result of exceptional colonial altruism. Thus it seemed that Belgium, reconciling herself to the inevitable developments on the African continent, was ready to suffer a certain loss, in good time and of her own accord, to gain ultimately more than she would after a delayed solution. The events which followed clearly show that matters were not so simple, and that behind the scenes there were other motives at work and other plans in view.

It could not be expected that the Congo, after achieving independence, would begin her new life without difficulties. Like every new state which had been a colony for many years, the Congo was compelled to come to grips with the problems of economic

backwardness. But hardly anybody expected that the Congo, immediately after starting her independent life, would be confronted with problems which were *artificially* created to undermine her independence and to bring her to the brink of economic ruin. Belgium's behaviour when she had to relinquish the Congo cannot be qualified otherwise. By withdrawing the experts who had secured the normal functioning of the economic life in the Congo, by her military actions and measures, which were out of all proportion to the actual need for "protecting" Belgian citizens, and her far-reaching machinations concerning the secession of Katanga, Belgium exerted, from within and from without, concentrated pressure on the Congo Republic. The intention was clear: to bring the Congo, through paralysing her economic life and dismembering her territory, and through the open use of force, into a position which, in the new situation, would guarantee the old economic and other interests of Belgium in this African country.

2. Containing such elements, the Congo crisis threatened to assume the proportions of a serious and wide-spread conflict. That this was not the case is due to the successful intervention of the United Nations: to the resolution of the Security Council demanding the withdrawal of the Belgian troops, and to the sending of U.N. forces to the Congo. The speedy intervention of the United Nations when the intentions of the big powers had begun to conflict in the epicentre of the crisis — regardless of the extent to

which they were in harmony or in collision with the interests of the Congo, since definite action might have provoked definite counter-action and led to the spreading of the crisis to a wider terrain — has resulted in the tranquilizing of the situation and in solidarity of action of the international community.

Although the tasks of the United Nations is far from being completed (the Belgian troops are not yet evacuated from the Congo; the Katanga question is still pending; and the problem of rendering economic, technical and other kind of assistance to the Congo requires the drawing up of a comprehensive programme etc.) UNO has nevertheless given another proof of its growing maturity.

The events in the Congo and the resolutions of the Security Council have plainly shown Belgium's invidious role in the whole affair.

Some circles are trying to prove, by the situation created in the Congo, that the colonial peoples are incapable of establishing and governing their independent states without "long preparation". The case of the Congo seems to us to be a proof of the *contrary*, and that one of the sins of the metropolises in their colonies is the deliberate frustrating of the training of native personnel, so that, after decades or centuries of colonial darkness, and in view of the difficulties they are faced with, the colonial peoples, when they gain their independence can only gradually achieve what has been systematically denied to them.

VIEWS AND OPINIONS

CO-EXISTENCE AND CONTEMPORARY RELATIONS

By Radoslav RATKOVIĆ

THE FAILURE of the Paris Summit Conference gave rise to intensified discussions of the basic problems of contemporary international relations throughout the world. It was the occasion for expounding or, in view of the new occurrences, for reappraising in a series of speeches, declarations and articles by responsible statesmen, public workers and political writers, the basic conceptions of foreign politics, reviewing their conditions, their immediate and long-term aims, their forms and methods of realization, and analyzing the results and experiences hitherto attained.

The views and attitudes put forward are very different, which is quite understandable when the structure of modern society and the character of the social and political powers acting in it are taken into

By one side, the failure of the Paris Conference and the events linked with it are called constructive and "encouraging" and are taken as the basis for attacking, on principle, any policy for the easing of tension and the re-establishment of the atmosphere of trust, agreement and international co-operation, such a policy being considered illusory and its objectives and results harmful. It is insisted that "actual conditions": the existence in the modern world of "two worlds" which are irreconcilably hostile to each other and between which there must be tension as long as both exist, should be reckoned with. To conduct towards the "hostile world" a power policy, to be constantly vigilant and prepared to parry its manoeuvres, are the basic postulates of the policy to be adhered to. These are the conceptions of the so-called "leftists" in the East (above all of the stubborn leaders of the People's Republic of China), as well as of the rightist ultra-reactionary circles in the West. It is obvious that the application of such a policy means

the maintenance of that dangerous tension in international relations known as the "cold war" with all its well-known accompaniments, and the threats to world peace which it brings in its train.

In opposition to this concept, which presents the difficulties standing in the way of the relaxation of tension and the re-establishment of wider international understanding and co-operation as an argument for rejecting such a course altogether, stands the thesis that the negative elements in international relations are merely a fresh proof that the policy of peace, co-operation, and active co-existence should not only be developed still further but freed from inconsistency and affirmed still more strongly.

The existence of these two political orientations, diametrically opposed in essence and in practice, and of the many transitional forms between them, has especially made itself felt in the last few years.

The fact that the protagonists of all these different conceptions in foreign politics claim to be supporters of co-existence may be interpreted as a good sign — a sign that awareness of its necessity has penetrated deeply and the policy of co-existence affirmed itself to such an extent that it is impossible for those who are in point of fact hostile to it to oppose it openly or frontally. The battle against co-existence is now being conducted on their terrain. The antagonists of peaceful co-existence are now compelled to declare themselves its supporters, but their conception of co-existence, especially the actual political course to which they have pledged themselves means, in fact, its negation. That such antipathetic political orientations cannot be reconciled and that they must conflict is clearly shown by the polemics conducted even in quarters where a mechanical unanimity and identity

of outlook is otherwise insisted on. One thing is evident: The demarcation line which separates the basic conceptions of international relations and foreign policy activities does not tally with the bloc frontiers, as it ought to do according to certain erroneous but wide-spread views.

But it is just this aspect of co-existence — its current forms and its practical meaning on the one hand, and the inconsistencies and contradictions in its conception and application on the other — that stresses its importance theoretically (conception of the essence of co-existence, social and political postulates, methods for putting it into practice, etc.). Theoretical conceptions being the general basis for the approach to and practical solution of problems in drawing up a programme for concrete action, the essence of such conceptions is important. The effect of practical actions greatly depends on the principles and truth of the conceptions underlying them. Thus, a sound, scientifically founded conception of co-existence, that is to say, a critical assessment of the theoretical fallacies and inconsistencies in its interpretation, as well as of their logical and social roots, is of great practical importance.

The existing theories of co-existence in their essential features, may be reduced to two basic conceptions.

According to one, co-existence is considered as a passive toleration between the two contemporary big power blocs, finding that the solution lies in such mutual peaceful toleration as does not allow of any sudden, significant social changes within the bloc boundaries. The premiss underlying this conception is that co-existence denotes a relative balance between the bloc powers. As long as this balance exists, co-existence will exist too. According to this conception the prospects are that one of the blocs, upon realising its supremacy and its advantage, will turn the relative balance in international relations into its own complete domination. This is the bloc conception of co-existence.

According to the other conception, co-existence denotes active and universal co-operation, irrespective of differences in internal institutions, and does not aim at maintaining, preserving or widening bloc boundaries or the established social order in individual countries, but at mitigating, surmounting and finally removing these boundaries. The prospects, according to this conception, do not lie in the supremacy of this or that bloc, but in the affirmation of the most progressive forces in all the organisms of contemporary society, and in the establishment of such relations between the countries and the nations as are in keeping with their greatest needs and interests, as well as with those of social progress.

Let us analyse more closely the essence and implications of both conceptions.

By its very nature, the bloc conception of co-existence as a term for balance of power, sees in co-existence a temporary solution, a tactical stage in international relations. Its whole activity is focussed on turning the balance of power in favour of one bloc in the long run. This cannot bring about lasting stability in international relations, since it necessarily tends to a point at which bloc rivalry, or a wrong estimate of the proportion of power, or guesses about the intentions of the adversary, or a mere accident, may provoke a catastrophe. This course, if pursued consistently, would keep on producing tension in international relations. The alternation of "cold war" and "relaxation" with the permanent danger of settling matters by taking to arms, is the regular product of this passive co-existence of the blocs. In such conditions it is very difficult to solve burning world problems and to remove those "sensitive points" which poison the international atmosphere. This course leads towards the complete polarisation of the world forces round two bloc centres. Hence it hampers the development of world economy, social progress, the independent development of the individual countries, and their free participation on the plane of interna-

tional relations, and their equality and national independence. All this has to be subjected to "higher bloc interests", as the only guarantee of peace and progress.

According to the other conception, co-existence is not a temporary, tactical slogan, but has lasting significance. If co-existence implies consistent and full respect for the principle of independence, for self-determination, for non-interference in internal affairs and for equal rights, if it calls for the widest international co-operation in all fields, for the solution of controversial questions by agreement, for activity in the strengthening of peace and in the opposing of all reactionary tendencies in international relations, then it cannot be treated otherwise but as a lasting formula for the organization of world relations. To struggle unremittingly and persistently for the realization of such relations among all countries, whether they are in blocs or not, means gradually to eliminate the negative factors from international life and to introduce new methods and relations into international practice. When interpreted and applied in such a way, the policy of co-existence leads to the gradual removal of tension, contributes to the establishment of ever-widening co-operation, and creates the atmosphere and the conditions in which it is possible to solve crucial world problems and controversial questions.

It opens the way for the free circulation of material goods and cultural objects, for the functioning of the world economy as an undivided whole, and for mutual acquaintance and closer inter-relations of peoples. It does not consider the strengthening of independence and sovereign rights of countries as an impediment to the establishment of the form of co-operation which is the most suitable to the countries concerned and to the world as a whole, but on the contrary, as a condition for their full development as equals.

When taking into account the essential features of these two conceptions, it becomes clear that the fundamental cause of their differences lies in the conception of the nature of the society of our time, and in the appraisal of the character and essence of social processes and relations at the present stage of development.

If the contemporary world is considered to be divided into two social systems with distinct geographical boundaries, that is to say, if the social systems are identified with the blocs, the logical implication is the conception of co-existence as balance of power. But if contemporary society, taken as a whole, is regarded as a phase of transition from capitalism to socialism, and the birth of socialism as a world process which is present everywhere and which, along with the strengthening of the progressive material and social forces, is advancing irresistibly everywhere through different forms and paths and at various speeds, the logical implication is the interpretation of active and peaceful co-existence as a formula for organizing such international relations as will facilitate the fullest and freest manifestation of progressive social tendencies, both in each individual country and on the international plane.

The contradictions between the old and the new conceptions of contemporary social structure are marked characteristically on the plane of international relations. The bloc formations and the tendency to preserve them are expressive of the actions of regressive internal factors. Just as these factors hinder the development of progressive forces on the internal plane, they render it impossible to set up new relations on the external plane. They tend to split the world and to bring its parts into sharp opposition.

The different conceptions of co-existence, that is to say, of ways of organizing international relations and of surmounting contrasts in the contemporary transitional epoch, are, ultimately, only notional terms for the different tendencies in the social movement, and the nature of the social forces by which they are propagated.

New Trends in Latin America

By Sulejman REDŽEPAGIĆ

LATIN America is today in a state of profound social and political ferment, which has been particularly intensive in the last few years. Although incomprehensible to many, the events taking place are the logical outcome of the historical development of these countries, which are becoming increasingly important not only on the Interamerican plane but also on the international one. The course of events in Latin America today is characterized by the increasing participation of the people, by a growing awareness of the importance and the role of genuine democratic and revolutionary movements, and by a steadily diminishing possibility of coups d'état, which have been very frequent in the past. All this is shaping the course of the contemporary development of the Latin American countries.

During my six-month stay in Latin America, in all the ten countries I visited — important events took place, showing that the masses are taking an active part in social and political life. Let me mention only a few of these events:

While I stayed in Cuba the Congress of the Workers' Confederation was held, at which support for the revolutionary government of Fidel Castro, and the readiness of the working class actively to promote the further development of the country, was powerfully manifested. The resolution unanimously passed on this occasion, that the workers should contribute four per cent of their earnings during a period of four years to the funds for the industrialization of the country, shows the political maturity they have gained from the revolutionary changes in Cuba, as well as their confidence in the plans of the government for the development of the country. At the same Congress the Trade Unions decided to terminate their membership of ORIT, because this organization helped the corrupt trade union leaders who had identified themselves with the Battisti government. This Congress was in fact the reflection of the universal process of the political awakening of the working people. This was manifested in another form during my visit to Venezuela where a big public meeting was held, under the leadership of the trade unions, to protest against reactionary plans to overthrow the constituted government of Betankur. The determination of the masses to support the present government, shows its stability and is a guarantee that the situation of 1948, when the reactionary forces overthrew the democratic government of Venezuela headed by Romulo Gallegos will not recur. The Second Congress of Agricultural Workers took place while I was in Peru, and there it was emphasized that no government will be able to solve any serious problem concerning the development of the country unless it abolishes the latifundia (large landed estates) and the semi-feudal social relations in the villages. I was in Bolivia towards the end of February last, during the Conference of the Latin American Secretariat of the Socialist International at which a better understanding was reached between the Socialist and Revolutionary-Democratic Movements of Latin America.

In Uruguay demonstrations of students and workers on the occasion of Eisenhower's visit were held under the slogan "down with Yankee Imperialism in Latin America! Long Live the Cuban Revolution!" which

could be read on a 45 metre long banner on the University building in Montevideo.

With all their different and individual characteristics, these events have one feature in common, which is that they are the expression of the desire of the peoples of these countries to improve their economic conditions, to put an end to exploitation, to remove economic backwardness and to solve their own problems freely and independently.

Today in Latin America certain social classes, representing only an insignificant minority of the population, enjoy the most advanced achievements of civilization. At the same time there is wide-spread backwardness, as the consequence of exploitation, which in many cases goes beyond the limit of human endurance. According to data in Latin-American publications there are about 70 million illiterate people on this continent today; about two thirds of the population subsist on agriculture which is characterized by a huge concentration of landed estates (according to the data there are estates whose acreage exceeds the surface of Belgium); in Latin America life expectation averages 35 years and in some countries 25 years, while in North America the average is 65 years; to a hundred thousand inhabitants there are 170 teachers and 17 doctors; the per capita national revenue in Latin America amounts to less than an eighth of that in USA. There are even districts in some of the countries where the per capita national revenue devolving on the villagers does not exceed nine dollars per annum. On the other hand it was announced that, the United Fruit Company had net earnings in the course of only one year (1953) to the amount of 44,566,264 dollars. Even these few figures are enough to show the problems facing the peoples of these countries.

As the result of the activity of the democratic and revolutionary movements, which insist upon the solutions of these problems in their programmes, there have been many changes in this respect in the last few years.

The most important example is the overthrow of the dictatorial governments in Venezuela and in Cuba and the establishment of democratic regimes corresponding to the aspirations of the peoples there. Moreover, the political situation has been liberalized in some countries, to the extent of granting the democratic freedoms which were formerly abolished, and this has led to the legalization of certain political parties (the Communist Parties in Chile and in Columbia, and APRA in Peru). The Brazilian Communist Party, though not legalized, enjoys a fair amount of political freedom.

As regards relations within the leftist forces, in spite of differences in ideological and political conceptions and in spite of some dissension, there has been a recent tendency towards co-operation in solving the individual problems of the countries concerned. In quite a number of these countries the former attitude of exclusiveness and open conflict between the different movements in the leftist forces are undergoing certain modifications, with a tendency towards surmounting differences and finding a platform for agreement. This is the case with the Socialists and Communists in Chile in the National Action and Trade Union Front with the the Democratic Action and the Communist Party and with some other patriotic

forces in Venezuela within the framework of the Trade Unions and the established democratic order; with the "July 26" Movement and the Socialist People's Party in Cuba; with the left wing of the Socialists and the Communists in Argentina within the framework of the United Workers Movement; with the Communists and Socialists and some other progressive circles in Brazil, and with the National Revolutionary Movement and the Communist Party in Bolivia. A similar tendency has been noted in certain other countries too, and although the extent of mutual co-operation varies, it cannot be questioned that it exists.

When analyzing recent developments in the once discredited Trade Union Movement in Latin America, the consolidation of the Unions and their growing influence and role on the national plane becomes manifest. There are united Trade Union Centres in Chile, Venezuela, Cuba, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and other countries. It is interesting to note the tendency towards a united Trade Union Movement in Brazil, Uruguay, Columbia and Argentina. The majority of these Trade Union Organizations have declared themselves against inclusion in the existing International Trade Union Organizations, though they express a desire for ever-widening co-operation with the National Trade Union Organizations.

The Trade Union Movement is growing into an integral part of the All-National Movements in many countries, which are blazing the trail for further development, regardless of obstacles. At the municipal

elections in Chile last spring, the Socialists and Communists together obtained more votes than any other political group in the country.

Pas Estensor's victory at the recent presidential elections in Bolivia confirmed the determination of the people to preserve the benefits of the Revolution in 1952.

The strong support of the Latin American peoples for the Cuban Revolution is another important factor in the grouping of the democratic and progressive forces on this continent.

A good illustration of this is the attitude of Vivian Trias, a Socialist Deputy in the Parliament of Uruguay, who said: "A new aggression, such as that against Guatemala, would provoke civil war in Latin America, since Cuba would be defended." But in spite of these constructive features, the Democratic and Workers' Movements in Latin America are not likely to progress without difficulties. The reactionary forces do not shrink from the most repressive measures to thwart progressive activity.

On the other hand, conditions of work for the democratic and revolutionary movements in Latin America are undoubtedly better today than they have ever been, and their prospects of success are dependent on the extent to which they will deal realistically with the vital problems of their countries, and make a practical contribution to their solution.

Colonialism in South Africa

By L. ERVEN

THE liquidation of colonialism in Africa has assumed certain geographical characteristics, which have no direct connection with its geographical factors; but for various reasons it has happened that the process of liberation of the African countries developed far more rapidly in the north than in the south. If we exclude some Spanish and Portuguese possessions on the Atlantic coast which are quite small and still backward and a similar French possession on the opposite side, on the Red Sea coast, the whole northern half of Africa has been freed from the control of the colonial powers or is in the process of gaining independence, and no longer meeting with serious resistance from the colonizers. An exception is Algeria. But for Algeria too, there are now great hopes that she will soon cease to be an exception.

With the southern half of Africa the case is different. It is still an area with a series of colonies with different colonial regimes, and ruled by various European powers. The South African Union is in one sense an exception, and in another she is not. According to her international status the South African Union is an independent state within the framework of the British Commonwealth, but according to her political order, which conflicts with her ethnic structure, she does not represent a national community but an organized apparatus of the tyranny of the European settlers over the African aborigines and over settlers of other races. For the Afrikanders, Boers, and English and European settlers, South Africa may be a free and independent country — but for the the African people it is an ordinary colony with an alien, imposed government. Among the grave cases of colonialism, the regimes of national oppression, economic exploitation and racial discrimination, by which the presence of the Europeans in Africa has hitherto been characterized, the South African Union held an outstanding place, provoking the protests of the whole civilized world and the condemnation of her regime in all the wider communities in which she participates or to which she belongs: in UNO, whose suggestions and resolutions she refuses to carry out in the

British Commonwealth at whose recent conference there were sharp discussions on her racial policy, and finally, in the circle of all other African countries at whose conferences in recent years the regime of the South African Union has always been on the agenda and in resolutions of protest. The same occurred at the Conference held quite recently in Addis Ababa.

Almost half Africa is still oppressed by various forms of colonial regimes. The equator seems to act as a dam in the physical sense of the word, which checks the wave of African independence. So far this dam has been crossed only by the Congo, whose territory, independent since June 30, stretches along either side of the equator. From this break through, a wave of independence is shaking the borders of Angola in the southwest, of Rhodesia in the south of Tanganjika, Ruanda Urundi, Uganda and Kenya in the east. Even if the process of independence has been checked for a moment on the borders of these colonies, the universal movement of anticolonialism and the African liberation struggle is developing and simmering in this part of Africa.

Impediments to the rapid liquidation of colonialism differ here to some extent from those the African nations had to overcome in the north of Africa. First of all, a great number of the colonies in South Africa are ruled by two colonial powers, which have proved by their policy and their behaviour towards the international organizations that take care of the peoples from the territories which are not self-governing, that they have not sufficient feeling for international responsibility, and that they have in one way or the other ignored the obligations laid on them by the international community for the protection of the population of non-self-governing and dependent territories. One of these powers is, as mentioned before, the South African Union. The second is Portugal. The South African Union governs the former German colony in Southwest Africa, over which she obtained a mandate after the First World War from the League of Nations. After the Second World War,

contrary to other mandatory powers in a similar position, she refused to surrender this territory to the trusteeship of the United Nations.

Putting forward the lack of a trusteeship contract with UNO, which she herself refused to conclude, the South African Union treats this colony as a territory under her own internal jurisdiction and does not allow any control by the trusteeship organs of the United Nations. Portugal has a similar attitude to the legal status of her colonies and the obligations set forth by the UNO Charter to the powers that govern over territories without self-government. She subjects her colonies to her own internal jurisdiction as parts of her national territory. She does not submit any reports to the UNO trusteeship organs about the development of these colonies, and she denies the United Nations any right of control.

The Portuguese colonies, Angola and Mozambique, and those in the south African southwest are in the gravest situation, since they are at the mercy of the colonizers, and outside the control of the United Nations' organs of trusteeship. The peoples of these colonies are thrown on their own resources and it is only with the assistance and support of other African peoples that they can organize their resistance against the colonial government, and their struggle for liberation.

The policy and behavior of the colonizers in these colonies offer no prospects or hope that, by appropriate measures for the development of self-government, they will themselves lead these nations towards self-government and recognize their independence.

In this respect the situation of these colonies differs from those in South Africa, which are still under the colonial system of Great Britain. Under the pressure of the anti-colonial movement and the struggle of the African nations for independence Great Britain has made certain reforms in the colonial system, to widen self-government. In her domains in the north of Africa, the former Gold Coast (Ghana) and Nigeria, these reforms have resulted in recognizing their independence within the framework of the Commonwealth, with which these two new states are satisfied for the present. But in the British colonies of East and South Africa the process of the reformation of colonial self-government is developing far more slowly. The British style of circumspect steps and of administering homeopathic doses of self-government is no longer in step with dynamic nationalism of Africa. Hence, the procedures of election and the constitution of legislative organs adopted at the recent constituent conferences of various colonies, as the preliminary phase for obtaining the status of dominions, cannot allay the dissatisfaction spreading in the British Colonies in East Africa, especially in Kenya and Uganda, and in Nyassa. These countries demand an accelerated procedure for recognizing independence.

One of the factors slowing down the reforms to bring about the same political rights for Africans as Europeans have, is inter-racial antagonism which, though perhaps to a somewhat lesser extent than in the South African Union, exists in these colonies, particularly in the Central African Federation and

in Kenya. The Central African Federation itself, founded several years ago by linking North and South Rhodesia and Nyassa in one system of administrative self-government, but with political privileges for the European minority, was motivated by the wish to secure for the European minority political control over the African majority. The strongest resistance to equal rights for Africans and Europeans and consequently to the recognition of independence, comes in the colonies where minority settlements are numerous. In this resistance of the settlers, seeking to protect themselves against the majority by political privileges lies perhaps one of the reasons why it is that Great Britain accepted more readily the independence of Ghana and Nigeria where there were not many European settlers, than she is prepared to do in the eastern colonies, where the settlers are more numerous. This is indeed a phenomenon which, though in a somewhat weaker form, has made itself manifest in other regions with more compact European settlements, such as in the South African Union and Algeria. But, irrespective of these impediments, the colonial regimes, even with more substantial reforms of internal self-government cannot be long-loved in British Africa either, when they have vanished — in spite of the half-measures undertaken — in French Africa. Besides these colonies, there are two trust territories in this part of Africa, of which Tanganyika is under British mandate and Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian mandate. They are under the guardianship of the UNO Trusteeship Council, which is to decide whether all the conditions for these territories to acquire independence are fulfilled. An international commission has inspected them and their report will be studied by the Trusteeship Council at the next session. The Trusteeship Council has already received a proposal from several UNO members asking that the date of recognizing independence to these territories should be fixed. This date cannot be deferred for long. After the proclamation of the independence of the Congo, in whose immediate neighbourhood the two trust territories are situated, any effort to keep them long in the state of colonies would be in vain. The mandatory powers, resigned to the hopelessness of African colonialism, are not likely to be very persevering in their claim for the extension of their mandates.

To sum up this short review of the present state of African colonialism, we may say that in the south of Africa conditions for the development of the liberation movement were less favourable than in the north, which accounts for the uneven course of the anticolonial movements in the north and in the south, although both sides are inspired with the same amount of national enthusiasm. These unfavourable conditions are especially manifested in more strongly accentuated tribal disunity and antagonism, a lower level of political education, and lack of solid political organizations and of other conditions needed for an organized political struggle. This is no doubt the result of a planned policy of the colonizers, with a view to securing, through the low economic and political standard of the colonized population the longer duration of their regime of exploitation.

The Congo and the Nyasaland Conference

By John HATCH

THE LESSON of the Congo is being taken in two contrary directions by black and white in Central Africa. The white community, now over 200,000 strong in Southern Rhodesia, 75,000 in Northern Rhodesia, but only about 8,000 in Nyasaland, is almost in a state of panic. The Congo borders on the Northern Rhodesian frontier. Over the past year there has been a growing belief that black government will come quickly to Nyasaland,

with Northern Rhodesia not far behind. Thus the whites fear that the violent chaos of the Congo might well be repeated in these two territories within the next few years and would inevitably spread to Southern Rhodesia; their object is to build barriers against the danger.

Eighteen months ago the Southern Rhodesian all-white government, led by its Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, made the first moves in an

offensive to destroy the danger of black African political organisations. Although there were no violent incidents at the time the Southern Rhodesian Government suddenly declared a state of emergency and imprisoned several thousand African members of the African National Congress without charge or trial. This move was followed by the emergency in Nyasaland, more justified to the extent that there had been some stone throwing and road blocks in that territory. Again, large numbers of Africans, including their leader Dr. Banda, were imprisoned without trial; some of them still remain there, although Dr. Banda was released in May of this year.

At the beginning of this year the banned Congress in Southern Rhodesia was replaced by the National Democratic Party. This was led by a number of moderate professional men; its object was to secure co-operation between black and white for constitutional changes which would allow Africans for the first time to take an active part in the government of their country. The leaders of this Party were so respectable that they were received by Mr. McLeod, the British Colonial Secretary, in London a few weeks ago.

The effect of the Congo chaos has been to provoke the Southern Rhodesian Government to further panic measures. It has stupidly arrested all the main leaders of the National Democratic Party and has had to face in consequence, for the first time in the history of Southern Rhodesia, wide-spread mass demonstrations from the Africans. It seems as though in their present state of nerves, the Southern Rhodesian white community is destroying the forces of moderation amongst the Africans and gratuitously opening the door for those extreme racialists who would campaign for a policy of kicking the whites out. In doing so, they have gravely embarrassed the first time in the history of Southern Rhodesia, is internally self-governing, it is linked with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which remain British protectorates, in the Central African Federation. Thus the inter-action of the Southern Rhodesian Government inevitably affects the position of the British Colonial Office.

This move has come at a most unfortunate time for the British Government. On Monday, July 25th a Conference opens in London which will have far-reaching effects all over Central Africa and in other parts of the continent where Britain still has power. Having at last realised that Dr. Hastings Banda, the Nyasaland leader who has practiced as a General Practitioner for many years in London and then in Ghana, was the only man with whom they could negotiate, the British Colonial Office not only released him from prison but has invited him to London to discuss constitutional reform for his country. He has come accompanied by three chiefs and other members of his Malawi Congress Party, formed to take the place of the National Congress which was banned in the emergency. He and the African public which supports him, have drawn an entirely different

conclusion from the events in the Congo. They see the violence and hostility to Europeans which has taken place there over the past fortnight, as an example of the extremism which comes to the surface when moderate constitutional advance is denied. They are therefore pressing for immediate political reform. Their present Legislative Council has a majority of official Government members, together with six non-African members elected by the European and Asian communities, and a like number of Africans, indirectly elected from their 3 million-strong community. Dr. Banda is proposing to the present Conference that the Legislative Council shall be increased to 55 members, 46 of whom should be directly elected by universal suffrage on a constituency basis amongst the Africans. He would allow the present non-Africans to remain and complete the number with 3 officials, the Chief Secretary, the Financial Secretary and an Attorney General. He would also have a government all of whose ministers would be drawn from the elected members, with the exception of the three officials who would have places in the government as well.

This programme is being put forward by Dr. Banda as a basis of negotiation. He will probably be prepared to accept somewhat less as an immediate instalment towards his final plan. Nevertheless, he cannot accept much less, for unless there is an assurance of early African control of Nyasaland, Dr. Banda is likely to be swept away and replaced by extremists. Already there has been a break-away from his Malawi Congress Party. If the settlement reached appears to the Africans to betray the principle of African majority government another emergency similar to that of last year, in which more than 50 Africans were killed, would certainly be precipitated.

On the other hand, another delegation will attend the Conference. This is composed of the Nyasaland branch of the United Federal Party, which is the governing party to the whole Federation, led by Sir Roy Welensky. The delegation consists of the leading European politicians in Nyasaland together with a number of chiefs who support them. They will press for more gradual approach to African self-government and will certainly quote the Congo as a dreadful example of what can occur when self-government is given too soon. Yet they cannot claim to represent all European opinion in Nyasaland. It is significant that some business men in Blantyre are canvassing signatures for a memorandum which claims that only swift African self-government can maintain peace and orderly progress in the territory.

Two other sides to the Congo lesson have been learned by Dr. Banda and his supporters. The first is the pressing need for trained, experienced administrators when self-government comes. Dr. Banda has, therefore, concentrated on developing good relations with the European civil servants in his country, urging them to stay after self-government comes and assuring them that their interests will be protected. The other lesson on which he is

prepared to draw is that if the wealthy Katanga province of the Congo is allowed to secede from the Congo Republic this will be a precedent for the secession of Nyasaland from the Central African Federation. All African politicians are agreed that the Federation is so deeply unpopular in Nyasaland that whatever constitution is devised, secession from the Federation must follow and Nyasaland develop its own independent existence. The reason for this is simply that the Federation has always been dominated by the white community. The task of Mr. McLeod and the Colonial Office is therefore very delicate. In the inflamed

tempers of Central Africa today, they have to steer a course between disappointing the African masses and aggravating the fears of the white community. Some form of rapid African advance in political responsibility is inevitable. The difficulty of the British Government will be to make it acceptable at least to those Europeans whose continued presence in Nyasaland is essential to the administration of the country, and at the same time to begin to educate the larger white community of Northern Rhodesia into a recognition that African advance in Nyasaland must shortly be followed by similar reforms in their country.

COMMENTS

Fanfani on the Stage Again

By Voja ĐUKIĆ

ITALY has recently been the scene of one of the gravest political crises since the end of the war. The government of Tambroni which, when it was being formed, was said to be only a provisional cabinet to handle current matters while awaiting a new, more stable arrangement, found itself in a blind alley and showed once again the untenability of the pretensions of the rightist Christian Democrats in the conditions prevailing in Italy today. At the same time, the crisis which had been convulsing the governing Christian Democrat party was manifested still more distinctly and strongly.

In a country like Italy, where along with powerful development there are many unsolved problems, and where the North is rich and industrially developed while the South is poor and backward, a government without a programme — a government of immobility — could not have maintained its ground for long. As a matter of fact, immobility was only a screen, since the Tambroni government actually did conduct some sort of policy, which matched the interests of powerful Italian circles, particularly those of the Vatican.

It was the beginning of the end when Tambroni's gangs began breaking up antifascist manifestations, which, practically implied protection of the neo-fascists. The reaction to this exceeded even the most pessimistic forecasts of the rightist circles of Italy.

The attempt to lay the blame for the bloodshed in Genoa, Reggio Emilia, Catania and other places on the Communists, acted like a boomerang. Tambroni found himself on the brink of an abyss, but he persevered in his efforts to hold out, thus aggravating the dissension in the ranks of the Christian Democrats. Finally a paradoxical situation arose, outside Parliament, and while Tambroni was still sitting in his prime ministerial armchair, there were consultations for the forming of a new cabinet.

In such conditions it was inevitable that the candidate chosen for the post of prime minister should be Amintore Fanfani, the strongest representative of the left wing in the Christian Democrat party, for it was realized, both in the headquarters of that party and

in the Vatican, that to insist on governments of the Tambroni type, or any government backed by the right and at the mercy of the Neo-Fascist and Monarchist deputies, would be dangerous and lead to a further weakening of influence and to the loss of followers.

This atmosphere reflected the general international situation and general world movements. The policy of the Vatican in shutting its eyes to the inevitability of progressive trends, in spite of the new, post-Paris tension, met with defeat, although not with total disaster. It was realized even in this charmed circle of conservatism that after all there were changes in the world, including Italy, and that the new trends were breaking up artificial barriers and boundaries. But this did not mean that the Vatican might be expected to support such trends. It was simply a case of necessity: an attempt to cover its traces, to appease dissatisfaction, and to wait for a better opportunity for a return to the old state of things.

In spite of all this, the reappearance of Fanfani on the political stage of Italy is a step forward.

Fanfani is certainly the most interesting and the most dynamic figure in Christian Democrat circles today. He seems to be their only strong personality, one who realizes the inevitability of certain changes, and who is not enveloped in the conservative, outdated conceptions of the post-war Catholic outlook on life. Unlike the rest of the Christian Democrat political leaders, or at least the majority of them, he talks about certain reforms which are not remote from the proposals of the leftists. He put forward these ideas when he was the head of the cabinet after the elections, but it was on account of these ideas that he was overthrown by the Christian Democrats themselves, to whom they seemed very much like heresy.

It was not only then but even afterwards that Fanfani contemplated the idea of establishing contact with Neni's Socialists of finding a platform for co-operation with them and of gaining their eventual support. It goes without saying that the leaders of the party, under pressure from the Vatican, have so far rejected such ideas. Thus it will be instructive to see the extent to which Fanfani is prepared to go to the

left, and the extent to which this will be tolerated by the Christian Democrats. This is especially interesting, since the general atmosphere in Italy is in favour of such trends, and the leading leftist parties have declared that they will not obstruct a government which includes in its programme the solution of urgent social problems and a readiness to meet the elementary requirements of the masses

The coming of Fanfani to the post of prime minister is sure to be reflected in the international plane, for he is a man who will not necessarily approve of

everything decided by other in the Western world. And Italy, thanks to her geographical situation and her traditional ties with some of the countries of awakened Africa, might play a constructive role in bridging and mitigating antagonisms. But of course Italy must realize that new waves are breaking against the shores of the world, particularly of Africa, and that she should draw closer to that part of the world which is struggling for peace and progress. Her chance is there. It remains to be seen how she will utilize it.

The Problems of Somalia

By L. ZDRAVKOVIĆ

THE FESTIVITIES were not quite over, and the Somali nomads who thronged in great numbers to Mogadishu to see the celebration of the proclamation of independence had hardly stopped wondering at the foreign delegations and the motley of flags and colours; but the anxiety of the responsible political leaders who were faced with the grave problems confronting independent Somalia was already discernible. During the receptions and military parades the question could be heard: "What will happen after independence?" This question did not reflect fear of the future or regret for the colonial government, but a wish to wage an immediate and decisive battle for the solution of certain vital problems. Without this it would be impossible to open the way of development, and without it the independence of Somalia and its sovereignty would not be complete.

The first important task facing the Somali people is the constitution of an authoritative government capable of leading the whole nation in the struggle for the solution of its economic and social problems. In the Republic of Somalia there are today five or six bigger political parties and movements, and the same number of smaller ones, with different programmes, in some cases quite impracticable in view of the conditions in Somalia, which reduces the internal forces of the country. The main struggle, however, is between the two biggest parties: The Somali Youth League, which is the governing party, and the Great Somali League, the opposition. The Somali Youth League, which is the oldest and best organized national party, played a decisive role in the struggle for independence. At the elections in 1959 it gained eighty out of a total of ninety seats in the Parliament of the former Italian Somaliland. The whole executive and legislative power of independent Somalia is more less in the hands of this party. The Great Somali League, whose forces should not be underrated today and which, according to certain Somali political leaders, can measure its strength with that of the Somali Youth League, was founded as recently as 1958, although during the elections of 1959 it did not succeed in obtaining a single seat. In fact, it was formed by the secession of a certain number of members from the Somali Youth League on account of their disagreement with the policy of the leaders.

The Great Somali League demands sharper measures in the struggle to unite the whole of Somalia and a more revolutionary elimination of the remnants of colonialism and of all links with the former colonists. In Somalia's present conditions such a policy is, in the opinion of the Somali Youth League, extremist and cannot but have unfavourable results.

The Great Somali League is trying to contest the legitimacy of Parliament and the government, alleging that the present Parliament does not represent the people, for it is not a reflection of the national mood, it demands that writs for the election of a new parliament should be issued without delay. The development of relations between these two big parties on the one hand, and the consolidation of the ranks of the governing party on the other, will certainly have a bearing on Somalia's struggle to eliminate her basic economic difficulties. Judging by present prospects, in view of the fact that the constitution of the government has been put off until the consultations which have now lasted for more than a month are ended, all measures to form a government which will have the support of the majority of the nation, have been taken.

The second problem is the obtaining of trained personnel. The colonial government in Somalia seems to have left behind it a greater vacuum than is the case in other colonies in Africa, in respect of the training of native personnel. When it was proclaimed independent, Somalia had only a few people with a university education, and these were only lawyers and administrators. At present there is not a single Somali doctor, engineer, veterinarian or agronomist, and the number of foreign experts is far from adequate. Thus, in this cattle-breeding country, where more than 80 per cent of the population are stock-farmers, there are only six Italian veterinarians with 14 Somali assistants and 120 attendants. The hospital at Mogadishu is run by three European general practitioners, and there are no surgeons or any other specialists there. Serious operations must be performed at Nairobi in Kenya, at a distance of three hours' aeroplane flight from Mogadishu. Similar examples can be enumerated by the thousand. It is no exaggeration to say that the state organization of Somalia today is functioning, only thanks to a small number of foreign specialists.

The problem of personnel is one of vital importance to the country, and it must be solved in the shortest possible time. The Government has begun to do this in two ways: by obtaining qualified personnel from abroad in order to deal with the momentary difficulties, and by granting scholarships (students sent abroad by the Government) for study at the universities in various countries. A large number of Somali students are studying at Cairo, in Italy, in the Soviet Union, in Czechoslovakia etc.

The Somalis look forward to obtaining the first three Somali doctors in 1961. The training of qualified personnel takes a number of years, the more so as it is difficult to find a sufficient number of Somali



» KERAMIKA «

MLADENOVAC

MANUFACTURES PORCELAIN MOSAICS

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youths who are in a position to take up study immediately, i.e., who have graduated from the secondary school. This means that the Somali Government will be restricted to foreign specialists throughout the period of the decisive struggle for the strengthening of independence and for the creating of a basis for economic progress.

The problem of water, i.e., of overcoming the problem of the dry period, is the most difficult and most important. By securing sufficient quantities of water during the dry period in all parts of the country, the face of Somalia would be completely changed. The problem of water is a social and economic one, whose solution would raise the country to the rank of the progressive and rich countries, and unless it is at least partly solved, neither the present government nor any future one will be able to carry out important measures for the modernization and prosperity of the country. The solution of the water question would attach the nomads to permanent settlements, without which it is impossible to take any major steps in the field of education and public health, advancement of cattle-breeding etc. It would also mean the promotion of agriculture, i.e., of the utilization the vast, fruitful areas which are lying waste today and the creation of new settlements all over the country, thus putting a stop to the seasonal migration of a large proportion of the population, which regularly causes economic losses. Solution of this question would mean securing three to four crops on more than two-thirds of the arable land in Somalia.

It is impossible to establish permanent settlements for the nomads when they are compelled to move about in the dry period in search of pastures and water-springs. During this time the cattle usually suffer damage and very often the men too so that Somali nomadism is the result of necessity, and not merely a remnant from the past. All efforts made hitherto to set up schools or any other form of education among the nomads have been unsuccessful, for the tribes stay at the same place only for a very short time. Thus the spreading of epidemics and other diseases from one part of the country to others could not be prevented, for the health stations were not in a position to undertake any effective measures. The veterinary service, in its attempts to improve cattle-breeding, had to restrict itself to the live-stock on the big farms and those owned by the Somalis who live in towns, which is a small proportion of the whole.

Former Italian Somaliland is a fruitful flatland, except for the northern and western parts, which are mountainous. At present, however, only the tracts in the valleys of the Uebi Scebeli and Giube Rivers (the only two Somali rivers) and some patches during the rainy season, when there is sufficient moisture, are cultivated. A system of irrigation is utilized mainly in the big Italian farms, which regularly harvest three or four crops.

The solution of this problem, on the supposition that the Government will engage all its resources, will take a number of years. The present Government, with the assistance and advice of UNO experts, is trying to solve this problem in part by utilizing the water from the existing rivers and by digging a range of wells. These would form oases whose continual enlargement would eventually lead to their linking up, and in which permanent settlements would be founded at once. But according to the Four Year Plan for Somalia's economic development worked out by

the experts of the Italian Administration, the minimum amount to be invested is 12 million somaloses or about 2 million dollars. According to this plan, 60 wells would be constructed in four years, out of which 30 would be equipped with motor driven pumps, along with a considerable number of tanks and canals to bring the water from the existing rivers to the districts which lack it. In addition to this plan, certain other technical assistance programmes involving the digging of wells etc. would be put into execution. But this is not sufficient or to be more accurate, it means that the problem of water would be prolonged for decades to come and thus the economic development of the country would be delayed. This problem must be solved more rapidly, through engaging larger funds and powers.

The steady deficit in the payment balance is a further concern of Somalia. According to the experience and estimates of the experts, the deficit in payments for goods and other payments will amount to 26 million somaloses (about 3.8 million dollars) for some time to come. The American and Italian experts

have concluded that in the course of the coming five years Somaliland, by increasing and cheapening her present production, will succeed in reducing this deficit by 50 per cent, provided that the imports and the non-goods payments are not increased proportionately to the present amount, which is rather difficult. These estimates are based on the supposition that the principal export items will remain bananas, raw hides, frankincense, limited quantities of maize and cotton, with the addition of an increasing amount of canned meat and fish.

The strengthening of independence and the further development of the country will certainly greatly depend on speed in the solution of these problems, as well as on the settlement of questions with neighbouring countries. The determination of the Somali nation to engage all its forces in the struggle for rapid and independent progress, in co-operation with all the nations of the world, as emphasized by both the President of the Republic, Aden Abdullah Osman and the Government, promises that the independence and sovereignty of Somaliland will not remain only a phrase.

YUGOSLAVIA TODAY

Development of Social Insurance

By Zdenko HAS

THE PROGRESS of Yugoslav social and economic life has had a marked influence on social insurance. The number of insured workers and employees and expenditure on social insurance are steadily growing. The annual increase of the number of insured persons who are in active service is from 7 to 10 per cent. The total number of insured persons (excluding farmers with health insurance) will cover 50 per cent of the Yugoslav population this year, while the average annual increase in expenditure on social insurance ranges from 10 to over 16 per cent.

The new system of pension insurance (established by the Pension Insurance Act of 1958) and of the insurance of disabled persons (Insurance of Disabled Act of 1959) are the most important measures which have lately been taken to advance social insurance and to enhance its value. This refers particularly to the insurance of disabled persons, since it is based on the most up-to-date measures for protecting persons in danger of becoming disabled or who are already disabled.

Since the introduction of the new pension system, i.e., during the last two years, retirement pensions were increased by 38 per cent on the average, and family pensions by 40 per cent. The number of receivers of pensions also shows a marked increase: from 277,000 in 1957 to 324,000 in 1959. Pensions for disabled persons were also considerably increased last year. Actually, in the first year of the application of the Act, before it was possible to apply the new regulations to every receiver of a disablement pension, there had been an increase in such pensions averaging about 14 per cent. In contrast to retirement and family pensions, and thanks to the efforts to rehabilitate and employ disabled persons, the further increase of disablement pensions, about 220,000 in number, has been checked, which proves the beneficial influence of the

new system on the social and economic integration of disabled persons.

The Health Insurance of Agricultural Producers Act, passed last year, is a further contribution to the extension of social insurance. It provides that the health insurance of farmers is to be effected this year, and this has, to some extent, already been done. This is the first stage of the introduction of general, national social insurance. Of course, it does not mean that the introduction of social insurance coverage for the whole nation in other branches will follow immediately. The speed of the process depends on the course of development in general, and on the economic power and social position of the still uninsured categories of citizens, which consists predominantly of peasants.

The next stage to be expected is the introduction of full social insurance of private craftsmen, which is in preparation.

In the carrying out social insurance and health protection the constructive experience of other domains has not been fully utilized. This refers to some extent to the system of the health insurance of workers and office employees, which consists largely of health protection. The experience gained hitherto, however, has indicated some future solutions.

The development and the postulates of the system of social insurance have proved the advantage of the organization and financing of social insurance as applied at present over former methods, but this should be developed further. After the war Yugoslavia found a broken organization of social insurance which had various systems of financing, and included part ownership of health institutions, similar to the organization which still exists in the majority of Western countries. The changes brought about by transferring expenditures on social insurance to the state budget and by placing it under state management were

necessary, when social insurance, ruined during the occupation, had to be re-established by means of radical measures. The postulates of this method for effecting social insurance were more or less in line with the systems applied by most socialist countries. But the need to bring social insurance closer to the insured became increasingly manifest, not only in respect of administration, but from the point of view of the right of insured persons to direct the management of the funds and services, and the need that every insured person should become an active part of the motive power of progress and contribute to the unremitting efforts to reach better results in this field.

The solution was to establish a uniform system of organization, affording independence to each territorial institute for social insurance, with its own organs of self-management, in which the institutes control the funds of all the branches of social insurance. In order to secure the health protection of the insured persons the institutes enter into contractual relations of a more or less business nature with the public health institutions. These institutions possess their own funds, earned by rendering medical assistance, and they are based on the principle of social management.

IN THE meantime, since the establishment of the basic premisses of the existing system for the implementation of social insurance and health protection, the building up of communal systems has made considerable progress along with a marked advance in the economic system, especially in that of distribution. These are circumstances which call for bringing social insurance relations into step with the changed position of communes and economic organizations, on the one hand, and for applying the experience gained while setting up the communal and economic system to social insurance, on the other.

The experience of self-management in other fields, especially in the economy and in the communes, shows that the further progress of social insurance relations and the adequate position of the participants in this process, should afford still greater possibilities for developing the activities of the factors in question.

The growth of expenditure on health insurance is much faster than in the other branches of social insurance. It even proceeds at a quicker rate than the increase of the number of insured persons, that of the national revenue, etc. The per capita expenses of social insurance were increased only last year by 14 per cent as against 1958, while the share of the expenditure on health insurance in the total amount of the expenses of social insurance showed an increase from 41.6 to 43.4 per cent. At the same time the facilities for health protection were considerably enlarged, but whether the results have decreased illness and absenteeism etc. in the same proportion, remains to be seen.

In the last few years several new aspects of the existing system of health insurance have become manifest, and these indicate the path to follow when solving pending questions. In this connection the increasing interest of economic organizations in health protection, and the favourable influence of the relations which are being developed between the health institutions as direct instruments of health protection, and the institutes for social insurance as controllers of the funds of health insurance, should be particularly stressed.

The great interest of the communes and economic organizations in the implementation and progress of health protection shows that they should be assigned such a place and position in the performance of this activity as would enable them to exert a still stronger influence on health protection. Adequate changes in the system would stimulate constructive tendencies based on practical experience. This particularly refers to the economic organizations. Their interest is reflected in the increased number of health service stations they have founded in various enterprises. The role of

these stations for health protection and preventive measures is growing daily. In the system of workers' self-management, health protection is not only a natural obligation of the economic organization towards its collective, but an important factor, for the workers' state of health has a strong bearing on both labour productivity and economic results and, consequently, on the living standard of each worker.

The basic principles of the established system have proved constructive, while the line of further development traced through practice is an important precondition for increasing the influence of the insured persons, not only through the organs of self-management, but also in a direct manner. In other words, the further development of the system of financing and the organization of social insurance should be based on the experience gained hitherto. This would have a marked influence on the system of health insurance, in whose implementation the economic organizations would participate on a still larger scale, and thus become a factor in the care of the whole life of the members of their collectives. By developing the system in this direction a basis is created for the further development of self-management in this field, along with the still stronger influence of the working people on management and decision, which permits full advantage to be taken of the increasingly favourable conditions resulting from the increase of health measures.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE experience gained so far will be useful for the further development of the system. This particularly refers to the position of the health institutions and the workers in them, who are the decisive factors for the realization of health protection. The independent financing of health institutions has yielded results which can be said to be favourable in essence. In line with its further development, the system of the salaries of doctors and other medical workers is being investigated, with a view to establishing a system in which the successful results achieved by individuals will have the fullest possible influence on their personal income. The broad discussions conducted on this subject, especially in the ranks of medical workers, aim at establishing such relations as will make the total earnings of a health institution, its further development and the financial standing of each member of the collective, dependent on the results and success achieved by the institution and each member in it. An important factor in this respect is the right of free choice of doctors and health institutions.

Thanks to this development there will no longer be restrictions on this right, which are due, not to the lack of doctors (for this obstacle is becoming less and less frequent, as the number of physicians is steadily growing), but are the result of administrative elements which are still contained in the system. The development of the right of free choice of physicians and health institutions, as well as the further development of the activities of health institutions on economic principles, and the system of salaries for medical workers, are important factors and will undoubtedly influence the general advance in this domain.

Previous experience has shown that by abandoning administrative methods and adopting economic relations, new human relations are created, and it may be expected that this course of development in health protection will lead to their further humanization, which is of great importance in this field. It is obvious that the strengthening of economic elements in the carrying out of social insurance, and the strengthening of self-management and humanization of relations, are interdependent. To bring self-management and the funds of social insurance still nearer to the insured persons, to stimulate their direct interest, to strengthen their influence on the carrying out of health protection, to include the communes and economic organizations in this process in the proper way, will be the next task in this field.

Rich Raw Material Sources of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy in Yugoslavia

By Strahinja SMEJKAL

Between the two world wars the deposits of metal ore and mineral raw materials in Yugoslavia were owned by foreign capital.

The basic characteristic of this period was the exploitation of the rich ore deposits, while the processing of the ores was limited to semi-finished goods. As exploitations in this period was focused on highly metalliferous ores, the sources of mineral ores were not exploited economically. The processing into metals and the manufacture of the final products was done abroad, which excluded any development of the industry of non-ferrous metallurgy in Yugoslavia. Certain semi-finished goods also absorbed substantial amounts of silver, bismuth, gold, cadmium and other elements.

The development of mining and non-ferrous metallurgy after the liberation of Yugoslavia was planned and characterized by rational utilization and steady increase of the raw material bases for the non-ferrous metallurgy, as well as by the introduction of more productive exploitation methods, improved processing and the setting up of factories for the production of the finished goods.

In recent years the production of lead from Yugoslav mineral sources has been about 20 per cent of the European output and about 4 per cent of world production.

In lead production Yugoslavia holds the first place in Europe and in the production of zinc the sixth place. The production of silver gained by processing ores containing lead and zinc, is about 30 per cent of the European output, so that Yugoslavia holds second place in the list of European producers. Her production of bismuth, which is likewise obtained from ores containing lead and zinc, has earned Yugoslavia the first place in Europe.

At the same time Yugoslavia is the leading copper producer in Europe. The total copper output at present comes from the deposits at Bor. The rate covered by the Yugoslav output in recent years amounts to 20 per cent of that in Europe and to 1 per cent of world production. The exploitation of the Majdanpek deposits will double copper production in Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia holds an important place among producers of antimony. She heads the list of European producers with 25 per cent of European production and provides 3.5 of world production.

In the European production of mercury Yugoslavia holds third place, contributing 12 per cent, and 5 per cent of world production.

Yugoslavia produces a considerable amount of bauxite and accounts for 15 per cent of the European output.

The mineral raw material reserves in Yugoslavia are steadily increasing. The potentialities for a

further increase, assessed from the results of the exploration work carried out recently are very significant, and show great prospects of rapid progress in the non-ferrous metallurgy in this country.

The results achieved in recent years in exploring the deposits of lead, zinc and copper are particularly significant.

In the postwar period the following regions were explored and sufficient deposits for the exploitation of lead and zinc found: Ajvalija, Prlina, Kišnica, Šuplja Stijena, Rudnik, Veliki Majdan and Novo Brdo. The deposits at Srebrnica, Sase, Žuta Prlina, Žuta Prla and Blagodan are in the final phase of exploration. A number of lead and zinc deposits have been found in the districts of Kopaonik, Rogozna, the Sližan massive and the Karavanka mountains and these are being carefully analyzed with a view to determining the quality of the ores and ore reserves. Intensive exploratory work in deposits whose exploitation dates from the prewar period have also resulted in a considerable increase in ore reserves. Her reserves of lead and zinc ores and facilities for their increase have secured for Yugoslavia a leading place in the European production of lead, zinc, silver and bismuth for a long period to come. The discovery of Majdanpek has ensured her a double output of copper for several decades. By thorough geological surveying of the copper region, where the deposits of Bor and Majdanpek lie, a great many substantial copper deposits have been discovered, and their investigation is in progress.

The antimony deposits in the Podrinje area are the largest in Europe. Both in this and in other areas of Serbia there are good chances for discovering new deposits.

Important results have been achieved by exploring the new bromine places in the regions of Ljuboten, Đakovica and Zlatibor. In the postwar period the exploitation of wolframite ores was started too, and it led to the discovery of a number of hitherto unknown deposits. In recent years deposits of sulfide-nickel-cobalt ores have been discovered, and these are now under intensive exploration.

The rapid growth of non-ferrous metal production in Yugoslavia in the last few years is the result of the steady enlargement in her raw material base.

The growth of the reserves of metals and minerals is subject to the extension of geological surveying in ore-yielding regions.

Increased investments coupled with efficient exploratory work by means of the most up-to-date methods have secured Yugoslavia a steadily growing raw material base for the further development of her non-ferrous metallurgy, which in its present stage already holds an outstanding place in European and world production.



KOŠUTNJAK is the biggest film studio in Yugoslavia, with modern equipment, up-to-date technical devices and highly trained personnel for rendering technical services in the making of all types of films.

Situated on a plateau surrounded by woods, only 15 kilometres away from Belgrade, and isolated from noise and traffic, the KOŠUTNJAK Film Studio offers ideal conditions for smooth photography and the carrying out of the most magnificent concepts.

KOŠUTNJAK has six modern studios, of which two cover an area of 1500 square metres each, on which it is possible to set up the largest structures, and to apply the chain system, which allows the shooting of eight to ten films at the same time, including mass scenes. The studio premises are enhanced by the country round them, which renders it possible to take films with big mass scenes and spectacular sets, in natural surroundings.

The general technical experience of the staff guarantees the fulfilment of every artistic requirement, thanks to which KOŠUTNJAK has earned compliments and approval from film producers from Italy, France and Germany.

KOŠUTNJAK Film Town is equipped with: up-to-date lighting devices (Brutes of Mole, Richardson make, Hl lamps, Quarc lamps, sufites, reflectors of all sizes etc.) and with aggregates for alternating and direct current from 18 to 105 kW; cameras for noiseless photography with every kind of film technique (Came 300 Reflec, Cameflex, Arribrilimp, Arriflex etc.); modern sound recording, synchronizing and mixing installations; film-mounting rooms with the latest mounting tables for standard and wide-screen films.

The FILM LABORATORY is furnished with modern equipment and automatic machines for developing and copying both black-and-white and colour films. The laboratory

treats film-strips of 35 mm according to contemporary scientific methods, including chemical and analytical laboratory and sensitometric control of the developing liquid. It has a department for carrying out laboratory trick effects with additional rear projection. It executes all kinds of film captions combined with trick photography.

For taking spectacular scenes KOŠUTNJAK has its own cavalry, one of the best in the world, which includes 400 horses, with horsemen and equestrian performers especially trained and equipped for such films. If necessary, KOŠUTNJAK is in a position to arrange for a far larger

number of horses and well trained riders skilled in all kinds of horsemanship. The cavalry is under the management and control of special trainers.

In addition, KOŠUTNJAK can place at the foreign film producers' disposal a number of extras and other personnel and engage artists and technical staff for making films. Besides its studios, technical installations and other devices, KOŠUTNJAK can offer its business partners work-rooms, a bar-restaurant, riding horses, and a beautiful park for pleasant recreation during breaks.

We hope you will come to the KOŠUTNJAK Film Town and enjoy making your films there.

CENTRAL FILM STUDIO KOŠUTNJAK

FILM TOWN — BELGRADE — YUGOSLAVIA



For further information write to the following address:
FILMSKI GRAD — BEOGRAD — JUGOSLAVIJA
CENTRALNI FILMSKI STUDIO »KOŠUTNJAK«

Here are some foreign films made in KOŠUTNJAK: Mihajlo Strogov, the Last Bridge, Gubiah, La Tour Prend Garde, The Empress's Knight, Dubrovski, Aphrodite, The Volga Boatmen, the Cossacks, Capo etc., with Maria Schell, Kurt Jirgensen, Genevieve Page, Jean Maris, Eleonora Rossi Drago Nadja Tiller, Isa Miranda, Elsa Martinelly, Silvia Kristina, Van Heflin, John Derek, John Barrymore, Jr., Roland Terzieff, Didi Perego, Anabella Bessi, Antonella Luaidi, Susan Strasser, Oscar Homolka etc.

OFFICIAL STATEMENTS

THE PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE STATE SECRETARIAT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Drago Kunc, spokesman for the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, answered questions on current problems put by Yugoslav and foreign journalists at a press conference on July 15:

Situation in the Congo — "The United Nations have acted rightly in responding to the appeal of the Congolese Government for help in its efforts for the preservation of independence; thus it has been confirmed once again that the world organization is the most appropriate and authoritative instrument for the settlement of international problems. The Congo is an independent and sovereign state, and all attempts at violating her sovereignty, territorial integrity or national unity are therefore to be condemned. Any action on the part of foreign armed forces contrary to the wishes and decisions of the sovereign and internationally recognized Government of independent Congo, are also to be condemned. Foreign intervention, action against the independence and integrity of the Congo are contrary to international law and the United Nations Charter. They also jeopardize peace and stability in Africa, which is in a state of transition from colonial domination to the setting up of free and independent states; such actions are harmful to world peace, and, in the long run, to the upholders of such a policy. Therefore we cannot help expressing our concern at the decision of the Belgian Government to send troops to the Congo, and its unreadiness to comply with the Security Council's resolution and withdraw its troops at the earliest possible moment".

Mr Dillon's Visit to Yugoslavia — "The visit to Yugoslavia of Mr Douglas Dillon, US Under-Secretary of State, which was arranged at the beginning of this year, will take place from July 17 to 20. Mr Dillon is to stay in Yugoslavia as guest of the Yugoslav Government. US-Yugoslav relations in recent years have been satisfactory, particularly in the economic field. We expect the talks with Mr Dillon will contribute to their further advancement."

Foreign Economic Relations — "Yugoslavia is, in principle, in favour of long-term economic agreements between countries, as elements of stability can thus be introduced into mutual economic relations. We have every hope that the trade agreement with the Soviet Union will promote economic relations between the two countries. These negotiations have only just begun."

Increased Tension in International Relations — "It is Cuba's sovereign right, in accordance with international obligations, to take the measures it considers appropriate for the economic and social progress of the Cuban people. The Yugoslav Government sympathizes with the position of the Cuban Government and supports such measures. Actions aimed at frustrating and hindering Cuba's efforts in this direction are condemned by both the Yugoslav Government and world opinion. Such actions are not only opposed to international law and the UN Charter, but tend to the deterioration of an already grave situation in that region, and aggravate international relations."

"As regards to the shooting down of the American military plane over the Barents Sea on July 1, the Yugoslav Government's basic attitude concerning respect for the integrity of state frontiers and unauthorized flights over foreign territory is well-known, as is the Yugoslav view that such actions endanger international stability."

Breakdown of Franco-Algerian Negotiations — "By sending a delegation to Paris, the Algerian Provisional Government showed its readiness to settle the Algerian problem by peaceful negotiation on the basis of equality and a mutually recognized right of self-determination. It is regrettable that those first contacts — through no fault of the Algerian Provisional Government — did not produce the results which the world public hoped for. We believe that these contacts and negotiations will be resumed, as it is obvious that they are the only course towards a satisfactory solution of the Algerian problem."

Yugoslav-Austrian Relations — "According to the supplementary agreement between the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Austria concerning the regulation of border traffic signed on March 19, 1953, the latter comes into force today, thus inaugurating local border traffic between the two countries. Yugoslav and Austrian citizens living in one of the border zones, which are about ten kilometres deep, will have the right to cross the frontier four times a month and stay in the neighbouring zone up to sixty hours each time. The implementation of this agreement is another step towards the promoting of good-neighbour relations with Austria, and the establishing of conditions for further cooperation."



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COMMUNIQUE

on the Yugoslav - Sudanese Talks

AT THE invitation of Josip Broz Tito, President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, Ferik Ibrahim Aboud, President of the Chief Council of Armed Forces and President of the Government of the Republic of Sudan, paid an official visit to Yugoslavia from July 9 to July 20, 1960.

President Aboud and his party visited Belgrade and the People's Republics of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Slovenia, where they inspected several industrial projects and places of historical and cultural importance. President Aboud and his party were given a friendly and warm reception by the peoples of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

During the visit the two Presidents exchanged views on the most important international problems and conferred in detail about the further development of co-operation between their countries.

The talks were conducted on the Sudanese side by Brigadier Magbul el Amin el Hag, member of the Chief Council of Armed Forces and Minister for Agriculture; Sajed Abdel Magind Ahmed, Minister for Finances in the Economy; Sajed Ahmed Mohamed Keir, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Bagir el Sajed Mohamed Bagir, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Sudan in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav participants were Aleksandar Ranković, and Mijalko Todorović, Vice-Presidents of the Federal Executive Council; Blažo Jovanović, President of the People's Assembly of Montenegro; Koča Popović, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Sergej Krajger, President of the Committee for Foreign Trade; Leo Mates, General Secretary of the President of the Republic; Jože Brilej, Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Zivadin Simić, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia to the Sudan.

The talks between the two Presidents were conducted in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and confidence, and in the spirit of sincere friendship which characterizes relations between the two countries. The successful development in their mutual relations in all fields was noted again, as well as the determination of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Sudan to exert all their efforts to improve the general international situation.

The two Presidents agreed that the preservation of world peace, as the precondition for the universal progress of mankind and a guarantee for the independence of nations, is today the most important task of all the states. They consider that the events that preceded the failure of the Paris Conference and the adjournment of the disarmament talks at Geneva set new difficulties in the way of the promotion of international relations, and lessened the possibility for finding a peaceful solution of the most urgent world questions in the near future. Agreeing that the promotion of international co-operation has always been the basis of the foreign policies of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Sudan, the two Presidents stressed their conviction that the non-aligned countries, as well as the other countries which are not directly involved in the cold war, and all peace-loving forces, should redouble their efforts in the present situation to fight against and eliminate the policy of force, pressure, interference with the internal affairs of others and propagandist competition. To put an end to the cold war and to abandon its methods is the basic pre-condition for creating such a general situation in international relations as will

facilitate the reaching of constructive solutions of the problems the solving of which cannot be delayed.

The two Presidents repeated the importance of respecting the United Nations Charter, and pointed out the role of UNO in the solving of international problems, especially those which are of vital interest to all peoples. Expressing their adherence to the principles on which the policy of the two countries has been based up to now too, they also stressed their support for the principles adopted at Bandung and at Accra, whose consistent application contributes to the strengthening of confidence and to the promotion of cordial and peace-loving co-operation among all countries.

Expressing full agreement upon the perniciousness and danger of the continuation of the arms race and particularly that of nuclear weapons, including the tests on African soil, the two Presidents consider that, for the settlement by agreement of questions of general and controlled disarmament, it is necessary to undertake still more energetic and urgent measures, which is in the vital interests of all countries and all nations. They will welcome and support every constructive effort along this line, just as they have done before. Progress in negotiations on disarmament, prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear weapons and of nuclear tests, as well as other solutions, would substantially contribute to the lessening of mistrust and tension in the world.

Emphasizing the absolute necessity of the final liquidation of colonialism, the two Presidents welcome the new independent countries of the African continent and are convinced that these countries will be a factor which will actively contribute to the promotion of peace, international co-operation and universal progress in the world. At the same time they express their full support for the justified struggle of the still unfree peoples, with the conviction that an irresistible process is involved which is developing at increasing speed.

The two Presidents also agree that the existence of great differences in the level of material wealth and technological development between individual countries or groups of countries represent, in the conditions of today, a serious danger to world stability. They consider that it is not only the moral obligation of the more developed countries, but in the interest of all, to render to the new members of the international community, as well as to all the other countries and nations which need it, economic and technical assistance, without any political or other conditions which would in whatever manner impair their independence and sovereignty.

The two Presidents consider that it is necessary to end the Algerian war immediately by continuing negotiations and on the basis of the right of the Algerian people to self-determination. They agreed that the Palestinian problem, which endangers peace

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in the Near East, should be solved in a peaceful way on the basis of the United Nations Charter and Resolution.

The Presidents consider discrimination on the basis of racial, national or other differences as one of the most deplorable remnants from the past. They especially condemn the racial discrimination which, in spite of the indignation in the world, the government of the South African Union is carrying on persistently, and they express their firm conviction that this policy will soon be definitely abolished.

President Josip Broz Tito and President Ibrahim Aboud reviewed in detail the results achieved in the co-operation of the two countries in the political, economic, cultural and other fields in the period following their last meeting at Khartoum in February 1959. They agreed that considerable success had been attained in all the domains of mutual relations, and that the period after their last meeting marked a further important stage in the strengthening and expanding of friendly and mutually beneficial co-operation between the two countries.

Asserting that there exist further possibilities for widening and deepening co-operation between the two countries, the Presidents resolved to strengthen their joint efforts, with the aim of developing political, economic, technical and cultural co-operation, and to take appropriate steps in this direction.

President Tito and President Aboud, emphasizing their satisfaction at the successful development which has been achieved hitherto in the relations between the People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Sudan, expressed their conviction that the broadening and strengthening of friendly ties and direct contact between the two countries is a further contribution to the affirmation of the principle of peaceful co-existence and equal co-operation among all peoples and states.

CURRENT EVENTS

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Meetings and Talks

OFFICIAL:

Djuanda Kartawidjaja in Yugoslavia. — At the invitation of the Yugoslav Government, Mr. Djuanda Kartawidjaja, Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia, arrived in Yugoslavia on July 29, where he will stay until August 3. During the visit of the Indonesian statesman talks of mutual interest, including the further promotion of cooperation between the two countries, will be conducted.

Yugoslav Delegation in Malagasy. — At the invitation of the government of Malagasy, a delegation of the Yugoslav Government headed by Hasan Brkić, member of the Federal Executive Council, attended the celebration of Malagasy's independence, held in July.

Douglas Dillon in Yugoslavia. — Mr Douglas Dillon, United States Under-Secretary of State, arrived in Belgrade on July 17 for a three-day visit to Yugoslavia. Mr Dillon and the economic leaders of Yugoslavia, headed by Mijalko Todorović, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, had talks on Economic co-operation between the two countries. Mr. Dillon was received by President Tito.

Peko Dapčević in Austria. — Peko Dapčević, Secretary for Traffic and Communications in the Federal Executive Council of the F. P. R. Y., stayed in Austria from July 9 to July 15 on an official visit to Mr. Waldbrunner, Austrian minister of traffic and electric power.

During his visit, Dapčević was received by Dr. Schaerf, President of the Republic, Mr. Raab, Prime Minister, and Mr Pitterman, Deputy Prime Minister. Mr Dapčević also had meetings with Mr. Kreisky, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

With the Minister of Communications of Austria Dapčević conducted talks on improvement of the means of communication between the two countries.

Visit of Indian Official. — Mr. K. G. Saiyidain, Secretary of the Ministry of Education of India, arrived in Belgrade on July 12, as the guest of the Yugoslav Secretariat for Culture and Education. After talks with the competent Yugoslav officials, Mr Saiyidain inspected several youth working sites and institutions of the Council for Children and Youth Welfare.

TRADE UNIONS:

Guest of the Federation of Trade Unions. — Mr Asad Rageh, Secretary General of the All-Arab Trade Unions Conference, stayed in Yugoslavia from June 29 to July 4 as guest of the Yugoslav Federation of Trade Unions, with the aim of getting acquainted with the work of the Trade Unions and the workers' self-management in Yugoslavia and of discussing further co-operation between the Federation of the Yugoslav Trade Unions and the All-Arabian Trade Unions Conference.

Representatives of Yugoslav Miners in Great Britain. — At the invitation of the Miners' Union of Great Britain a delegation of the Yugoslav mining, metallurgical and chemical Trade Union stayed in London at the beginning of July. The delegation attended the Congress of British Miners.

Yugoslav Trade Union Study Group in Italy. — A Yugoslav Trade Union study group headed by Dušan Pudjo, Vice-President of the Republican Council of the Trade Unions of Serbia, stayed in Rome from July 6 to July 19, as guests of the General Labour

Confederation of Italy. During their stay they had talks on co-operation between the two trade unions and the methods of work of these organizations.

Rumanian Trade Union Leaders in Yugoslavia. — A group of 15 Trade Union leaders and workers from Rumania arrived in Yugoslavia on July 16 on a holiday of several weeks. As guests of the Confederation of the Trade Union of Yugoslavia they will inspect several trade union centres. A certain number of Yugoslav workers will spend their holidays in Rumania at the same time, according to the plan of co-operation between the trade unions of the two countries.

Guest from Austria. — Franz Olach, President of the Confederation of the Trade Unions of Austria and Vice-President of the Austrian Parliament, arrived in Belgrade on July 20. He had talks on co-operation at the Federation of the Trade Unions of Yugoslavia with Ivan Božičević, Vice-President of the Central Trade Union Committee, and he paid a visit to Marjan Breclj, member of the Federal Executive Council.

PEOPLE'S YOUTH:

Delegation of People's Youth in Cuba. — On July 21 delegates of the People's Youth of Yugoslavia left for Cuba where they attended the First Congress of the Youth of Latin America, which was opened on July 26. The Congress was attended by 1500 delegates of the Youth Movements and Organizations of Latin America.

Yugoslav Youth in Morocco. — At the invitation of the workers' youth of Morocco a delegation of the People's Youth of Yugoslav young people will remain in Morocco till the beginning of August, and during this time they will inspect several youth centres and exchange experiences in work.

Co-operation with Norwegian Youth. — The meeting of the Youth Organizations of the Scandinavian countries held at Upsala was attended by a delegation of the People's Youth of Yugoslavia, headed by Pera Djoković, president of the Organization of People's Youth of Serbia.

Soviet Komsomol Delegation in Yugoslavia. — A delegation of the Rural Youth Organization (Komsomol) arrived in Belgrade on July 8 to return the visit of the People's Youth of Yugoslavia who stayed in the Soviet Union last year. During their visit to Yugoslavia the Soviet young people toured Vojvodina and Macedonia and inspected several farming co-operatives, as well as the Young builders of the new highway in Macedonia.

Foreign Youth Delegations on Highway. — Representatives of the Youth Organizations of France, Great Britain, Poland and USA arrived in July to participate in the Building of the "Bratstvo i jedinstvo" (Brotherhood and Unity) highway, which is being carried out by the youth of Yugoslavia. Young people from another 13 countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and America are expected to participate in this project.

International Students Meeting in Ljubljana. — The International Meeting of Students, attended by 70 delegates from 25 European, Asian and African countries, ended in Ljubljana on July 13. At the seminar held in connection with this big students' assembly current questions concerning international politics, as well as social and economic problems, were discussed.

MISCELLANEOUS

British Rear-Admiral at Split. — Rear-Admiral Hetherington, Commander of the naval port of Malta, visited the port of Split from July 19 to July 22.

Visit of General Drummond. — General Drummond, head of the British Army Medical Corps, arrived on July 16 for a few days' visit to the corresponding service of the Yugoslav People's Army. He inspected various health institutions in Belgrade, Sarajevo and Split.

Co-operation between Towns. — Representatives of Ljubljana, capital of the Republic of Slovenia, left for Great Britain on July 6, on a ten-day visit to London and Nottingham, thus returning the visit of the delegates from London and Nottingham to Ljubljana last year. Co-operation between Ljubljana and Nottingham includes exchange of summer holidays for children.

Delegation of Journalists in the UAR. — A delegation of the Yugoslav Journalists' Association, headed by the director and editor-in-chief of *Medjunarodna Politika* (Review of International Affairs), were guests of the Government of the United Arab Republic from July 13 to 24. They gained further knowledge of the political and economic development of the Egyptian and Syrian Provinces, and attended the session of UAR's first Parliament.

Seminar at Dubrovnik. — At Dubrovnik, a medieval town on the South Adriatic Coast, an international seminar entitled "the University of Today", attended by university professors and students' organizations from 25 countries, was held from July 18 to July 27. Problems of the adaptation of university education to the needs of the contemporary economy and society, and of methods of scientific research were discussed.

Meeting at Opatija. — At Opatija, a town on the North Adriatic Coast, a meeting of a group of microbiological standardization experts was held early in July, at which experiences with various types of vaccines were exchanged and co-operation of international organizations in this field discussed. The meeting was organized by the Executive Committee of the Geneva Department for Micro-Biological Standardization in co-operation with the Institute for Immunology and Biology of Zagreb. It was attended by experts from 13 countries.

George Kennan in Belgrade. — Mr. George Kennan, a prominent American scientist and public worker stayed in Belgrade from July 8 to July 20 as guest of the Institute for International Politics and Economy. During his visit Mr. Kennan had talks with the members of the institute and with Slavic historians and philologists. Mr. Kennan was received by President Tito.

Milija Radovanović in UAR. — Milija Radovanović, president of STV Partisan and member of the Executive Council of Serbia, stayed in the UAR in the second half of July as guest of the Central Youth Organization Council.

Paško Romac in Japan. — Paško Romac, Vice-President of the Central Committee of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, and member of the National Board of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Nations, left for Japan on July 26. He will attend the Sixth World Conference to protest against the use of atomic and hydrogen bombs and to demand complete disarmament, which will be held from August 2 to August 9.

Visit of American Lawyer. — John Hazard, a prominent American lawyer and professor of Columbia

University in New York, stayed in Belgrade from July 22 to July 28. Professor Hazard visited a number of Scientific Research Institutions and had meetings with Yugoslav lawyers at which questions concerning the comparative method for the study of law, the problems of the Soviet and Socialist laws, and current international problems in the field of law, were discussed.

Negotiations and Agreements

ECONOMY

Industry. — Industrial production in Yugoslavia during the first five months of this year increased by 18 per cent as compared to the same period in 1959.

Footwear. — In 1959 more than 12.3 million pairs of shoes were made. Those sold on foreign markets amounted to more than 2 milliard dinars in value.

Textiles. — During the first five months of this year the Yugoslav textile factories increased production by 16 per cent as compared with the same period in 1959. The export of textiles showed a rise of 20 per cent.

New Hydro-Electric Power Plants. — The construction of the biggest Yugoslav hydro-electric power plant, which will generate 1,700,000,000 kilowatts of electric power per annum, has been started on the river Trebišnjica, near the town of Dubrovnik. On July 4 the first two aggregates of the Bistrica hydro-electric power plant near Kokin Brod in the Republic of Serbia were set in operation. They will produce 200,000,000 kilowatthours of electric power.

Yugoslav-West German Negotiations. — Negotiations between Yugoslav and West German experts were carried on in Bonn on July 16, when they discussed the situation, the prospects of imports and exports of textiles and the eventual removal of reasons for the present insufficient exchange of goods.

Yugoslav-Indonesian Trade Negotiations. — Trade negotiations between a Yugoslav delegation, headed by Nikola Minčev, member of the Federal Executive Council and an Indonesian delegation, headed by Chaerul Saleh, Minister of Industry, began in Belgrade on July 29. After the negotiations a new Trade Agreement will be signed.

Yugoslav-Cuban Trade Negotiations. — Negotiations on the conclusion of the first payment and trade agreement and on a contract for technical co-operation between Cuba and Yugoslavia began in Belgrade on July 28. The Cuban delegation is headed by Raoul Sepero Bonilla, Minister of Trade, and the Yugoslav delegation by Nikola Minčev, member of the Federal Executive Council.

Negotiations with the Soviet Union. — Negotiations for the conclusion of a five-year trade agreement between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia began in Moscow on July 11. The head of the Yugoslav delegation is Vujica Gajinović, Vice-President of the Foreign Trade Committee of the F.P.R.Y. while the Soviet delegation is led by Mihail Kusmin, Assistant Minister for Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R.

Negotiations with Bulgaria. — The session of the Yugoslav-Bulgarian Mixed Committee For goods exchanges began in Belgrade on June 30. Several current questions pertaining to the exchange of goods between the two countries were discussed.

Stay of the Cambodian Trade Delegation. — Negotiations were conducted between the Trade Delegations of Yugoslavia and Cambodia from July 22 to July 30, concerning a wider exchange of goods and general economic co-operation between the two countries.

Commodity Lists with Austria. — The negotiations between the Yugoslav-Austrian Mixed Commission on exchange of goods ended on July 13. New commodity

lists have been established to regulate the turnover of goods for the period from August 1, 1960 to January 31, 1961.

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION

Work of Yugoslav-Hungarian Commission. — The session of the Yugoslav-Hungarian Water Resources Committee, which examined water problems of interest to both countries ended in Budapest on July 1.

Yugoslav-Greek Technical Commission. — The Yugoslav-Greek Commission for questions concerning the property of Yugoslav citizens in Greece and of Greek citizens in Yugoslavia continued its work in Skoplje early in July. The commission had previously held a session in Thessalonika.

Economic Co-operation with UAR. — Negotiations between a group of industrial experts from Yugoslavia and similar experts in the United Arab Republic were conducted in Cairo from July 13 to July 21, concerning the possibility of Yugoslavia participating in the new plan for the industrialization of the UAR.

CULTURE

Tours of Yugoslav Conductors. — Djura Jakšić, of the Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted a concert given by the Dutch Radio on July 15. At the beginning of August he will go on a tour to France where he will conduct a concert of the French Radio. Igor Djadrov, the Zagreb conductor was a guest at the Palatino in Rome where he made his fifth successful appearance.

News in Brief

Civil Engineering Abroad. — The building enterprises of Belgrade in the last three years carried out various constructions abroad, to the value of 15 milliard dinars, mostly in Turkey, Syria, the Sudan, Pakistan and Burma.

Naphtha. — A new oil field has been discovered in Slavonia, the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, which is considered as more or less equal with Stružec, the biggest Yugoslav oil field, also in Croatia. The layer in the new field is about 40 metres thick.

Asbestos. — The first Yugoslav asbestos factory has been set in operation as Stragari near Kragujevac in Serbia. Asbestos sheets are used on a large scale as insulating material in the machine construction and electrical equipment industries.

Films

Nine full-length feature films and 14 documentary films were shown at the Seventh Yugoslav Film Festival in the Adriatic town of Pula.

A number of Yugoslav artistic, documentary and cartoon films will be featured at the international film festivals to be held in Edinburgh.

Publishing Activity

The Prosveta Yugoslav publishing house and the Cambridge University Press are publishing a comprehensive Serbo-Croatian — English dictionary in two volumes.

A book of short stories by Ivo Andrić, the prominent Yugoslav author, has been published in Budapest. It contains his famous stories, "Prokleta avlija" (the Doomed Courtyard) and "Anikina vremena" (The Times of Anika).

A Spanish version of the study entitled "Yugoslavia — Social Democracy" by Jovan Djordjević, professor at Belgrade University, will shortly be published in Mexico.

Lenin's studies, "The State and the Revolution" and "The State" have been reprinted in Belgrade for the fourth time since the liberation.

YUGOSLAV PILOTS AND TECHNICIANS IN CONGO. — At the request of the UNO Secretary General of July 15 last, the Yugoslav Government sent a group of pilots and technicians to join the United Nations Congo forces. The group flew to the Congo via Pisa by special aeroplanes from Belgrade Airport.

Political Diary

July 1 — The Federal People's Assembly finished its work before the summer holidays. Several Laws and Bills concerning finances were passed. Mijalko Todorović, vice-president of the Federal Executive Council, submitted a report on the movement of the economy in the first four months this year. The members of the Executive Council and Government officials replied to questions.

July 4 — July 4, Fighters' Day, was celebrated throughout the country. At a big public meeting at Sremska Mitrovica, the scene of the central celebration, a speech was delivered by Aleksandar Ranković, President of the Federation of Veterans of the People's Liberation War of Yugoslavia.

July 9 — An official delegation from the Republic of Sudan, headed by Ibrahim Aboud, Head of the Armed Forces and Prime Minister, arrived in Belgrade.

July 19 — A press conference was held at the Secretariat for Information (F. E. C.) where Marjan Brečelj, State Secretary for Commodity Exchange of the Federal Executive Council, made a speech. He said that resolutions concerning the purchasing prices of live stock, cattle feed and meat will be issued shortly, and that the organization of harvesting was better this year than last year.

July 20 — A conference was held at the Federal Chamber of Industry dealing with measures to restrict credits for equipment, which produced favourable results. Hasan Brkić, Secretary for industry in the Federal Executive Council, was one of the speakers.

Diplomatic Diary

June 30 — President Tito received Mr. Joseph Luns, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, who was accompanied by Mr. Van Vorst Tot Vorst, Ambassador of the Netherlands in Belgrade.

June 30 — President Tito received Sir Michael Justin Creswell, newly-appointed Ambassador of Great Britain in Belgrade, who submitted his credentials.

July 8 — President Tito received Mr. Binaj Randžon Sen, Director of FAO.

July 8 — President Tito received Mr. Per Jacobson, Director-General and President of the Executive Board of the International Monetary Funds.

July 15 — President Tito received Mr. Winston Churchill, former British Prime Minister, in Split.

July 18 — President Tito received Mr. Douglas Dillon, U.S. Under-Secretary of State.

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